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THE STORY
of the
INTERNATIONAL
FELLOWSHIP
of
RECONCILIATION



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TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONAL

THE STORY
of the
INTERNATIONAL
FELLOWSHIP
of
RECONCILIATION

by

LILIAN STEVENSON

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
DÖBLERGASSE 2/26, VIENNA VII.

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FOREWORD

MANY efforts are being made in these days to recapture something of the early radiance and dynamic of the Christian religion and to relate its essential principles to the needs of this generation. Among such efforts this Fellowship stands, not because it set out to do just that but because, in the reaction against the war spirit, its members did actually make a fresh discovery of the significance of Christ for the modern world. The war years brought many great truths home to men and nations. They stressed the power of ideals in a materialistic age; they brought many to face reality who had been content with a show of things; they drew out courage and self-sacrifice as all great disasters in history have done; they brought a new sense of world-citizenship to birth, however imperfectly it is as yet expressed in League of Nations and World Court.

To the men and women who came into this Fellowship the war involved a very deep challenge to ways of thought and life. In the grim realities of war they saw something that ought not to be and they were convicted of a share, however unwilling, in its creation. Their pride or greed or indifference were factors in fashioning the gigantic forces which crashed into the stupendous conflict of 1914-18. Startled to see whither we were drifting, such men and women asked again the kind of questions men do ask when they are *in extremis*. Out of the disillusionment and darkness came the assurance of Love as ultimate—the very nature of God himself. The challenge of the World War could scarcely be better expressed for them than in Browning's words:—

“ Putting the question ever, ‘ Does God love,
And will ye hold that truth against the world? ’ ”

To them it seemed that a refusal to join in the struggle was an assertion of the most significant fact in the universe. Light shone for them upon the pages of history and into their own problems and that light seemed to come from the face of Jesus Christ. It was a light that could never lead them into the wholesale slaughter of their fellows, however true or holy the “cause.” The nobler the aim, the greater the desecration of using such means. The light led them away from war but it led them into a sacrificial attitude towards life, into a sharing of the pain and passion of humanity, along the paths which He had trodden to the Cross where He—misunderstood and tortured as a traitor—offered Himself freely for sheer love. It is no new faith. The saints and martyrs,

known and unknown, have trodden it in every age. No laurels are sought and few are offered to those who tread it. Each age is assured in its own mind that it is expedient for such to die, or be imprisoned, or laughed out of court. Each age sincerely thinks it serves God in so treating them. Yet, as the years roll on, a growing number discover that such are the pioneers of a better world. They have not suffered and died in vain.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation makes no claim to be unique and it does not call for public recognition. In these records it offers its experience to those who care to study in the hope that here and there an answering chord may be awakened, and that those things which it partially sees and imperfectly expresses in individual and corporate life may be more clearly seen and more truly expressed by not a few who may never enter that particular fold. What is true in its testimony will prevail; let what is false perish. All it asks is the honest facing of the issues raised by the record of its few short years.

HENRY T. HODGKIN

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THIS story of the beginnings of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and of its taking root in different lands and growing in different ways is set down here for its members and friends : not in praise of the Movement, for it has done very little that is not also being done by other Christians and Peace-lovers, but that, through such a review, we may learn to know better the nature of the task which confronts us and with humility and faith go forward.

Towards a Christian International

Chapter I

BEGINNINGS

IN the *Imitatio Christi* the story is told of one who, praying before the altar and pouring out his soul in the longing : “ Oh, if I knew that I should yet persevere ! ” heard the answer, clear and definite : “ Do *now* what thou would’st do *then* and thou shalt be secure.” And the writer adds : “ Being herewith comforted and strengthened he committed himself wholly to the Will of God and that noisome anxiety ceased.”

A worthy goal ; a sure way to reach it ; security ; a full and glad life set free from anxiety. Is not this what Europe, insecure and disillusioned, barren of hope and torn by mutual distrust, craves to-day ? Is it not what the whole world, East and West alike, is seeking ? Of Dreams and Utopias there is no lack, nor of exhortations—here to submissive content with things as they are ; there to violent revolution as the only path to things as they might be.

But what if the secret be simply to do *now* what, as we dream our dreams of some ideal world, we would do *then* ? Is not this the way Jesus taught and followed ?

Ten years ago, some fifty men and women, from ten nations, gathered at Bilthoven, Holland, for a memorable week. There, this truth—which many down the ages had seen just as these were beginning to see it—came home to them with fresh conviction as the only solution for a war-racked world. From that day onward the impulse spread till, in four and twenty nations—here an individual and there a little group ; here a new stand against the old mistrust and there an experiment along some new road of adventurous service—there exists a Movement known by various names but linked together in an international bond by a common hope and a common venture, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN

To understand this International Fellowship one must go back to 1914. The outbreak of the World War forced men everywhere to face the deep contradiction between war and the way

of Christ. Among the many who, in much travail of spirit, sought a solution, some in every land came to realise not only that a better way could be found but that it must be followed without delay and at whatever cost. It was thus that in Great Britain the Fellowship of Reconciliation came into being at the end of 1914. Men and women from different classes of the community, from different churches and from no church, met and found themselves united in the conviction that war was wrong and for them impossible. They refused to take any part in it, but saw that their only justification for such refusal was to set out to discover together how the way of love and service, as shown in Jesus, could be followed in every relationship of life, and human society be thereby radically transformed. They realised that this conviction as to war was only one aspect of a new outlook on all life born of a deep respect for the personalities of other men and women and for the characteristics of other peoples. To learn to look on all men in this way, to restore the essential brotherhood, broken in our present world-order in a thousand ways, seemed to them the task the World War had revealed. Little groups of seekers became known to one another, and, in the closing days of the year, one hundred and thirty persons came together at Cambridge and founded the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Among them were men and women well known in England and America to-day—Henry Hodgkin, Maude Royden, Richard Roberts, Lucy Gardner, W. E. Orchard, George Lansbury, Leyton Richards, Fearon Halliday, etc. While holding that their bond of union was not a common creed but one spirit, the founders of the Fellowship recorded their general agreement in the following terms :

AN EARLY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE

“ That Love, as revealed and interpreted in the life and death of Jesus Christ, involves more than we have yet seen, that it is the only power by which evil can be overcome, and the only sufficient basis of human society.

“ That, in order to establish a world-order based on Love, it is incumbent upon those who believe in this principle to accept it fully, both for themselves and in their relation to others, and to take the risks involved in doing so in a world which does not as yet accept it.

“ That, therefore, as Christians, we are forbidden to wage war, and that our loyalty to our country, to humanity, to the Church Universal, and to Jesus Christ, our Lord and Master, calls us instead to a life-service for the enthronement of Love in personal, social, commercial and national life.

"That the Power, Wisdom and Love of God stretch far beyond the limits of our present experience, and that He is ever waiting to break forth into human life in new and larger ways.

"That, since God manifests Himself in the world through men and women, we offer ourselves to Him for His redemptive purpose, to be used by Him in whatever way He may reveal to us."

IN WAR TIME

Since this Fellowship had its origin in an international crisis, its special testimony was in regard to war but, from the first, its founders realised that the law of love is violated to-day in many other directions and that, to eradicate any one form of social strife, one must go deep down to the roots of all. They were convinced that the whole structure of society needed refashioning on a different basis, that the present social order should not be accepted as inevitable; that those who held these convictions were called to search resolutely for the Will of God for modern life and to unite with men and women in all lands in a common quest after an order of society in accordance with the mind of Christ.

The war prevented for the time being such common effort. The Fellowship of Reconciliation set itself therefore to the task of working out within its membership the many-sided implications of its central position. All that such a ministry of reconciliation demanded they could not at once see, but they were convinced that the truth they *did* see must be embodied without delay; the revolutionary principle of Love must be unflinchingly applied, however impracticable it might appear at the moment; individuals and groups must go forward without waiting for the whole community. So far they felt themselves on sure ground. But at once this attitude brought them up against both Church and State; neither care to move far till the community as a whole is ready to follow. Pacifists were regarded as bad citizens and bad churchmen. Yet taking risks is of the essence of the following of Christ, and His method—the overcoming of evil by good, of selfishness by unselfishness, of sin by the Cross—is a revolutionary method involving a complete change in the standard of values by which men live, a method to be applied to all departments of life. The attitude of the members of the Fellowship to war is regulative of their attitude to the whole tangle of social and economic problems.

Their first task seemed to be to influence public opinion and to help the victims of war. Some joined in the relief work extensively carried on by the Friends and others among war refugees and among the civilian population of devastated areas in France

and Belgium. Measures were also being organised both in England and Germany to bring relief to those who found themselves stranded in an enemy country, often in great want and without friends. In this work members of the Fellowship quickly found a place. In both countries, persons were protected and rescued from mob violence, both in street-fighting during revolution and in attacks on aliens. The bitterness engendered by war conditions was steadily striven against. In the German Quarterly, *Die Eiche*, January, 1917, messages sent by the Fellowship to German Christians, at a time when leading theologians on both sides were exchanging documents couched in a very different spirit, bear witness to courageous effort to reach across barriers while, in the same number, a reprint of a leaflet issued by the Fellowship in Great Britain at the time of the sinking of the "Lusitania," gives evidence of wise and sane counsels. The reply of the Fellowship to the Call of the German Social Democrats appears there also. In every way efforts were made to influence thinking in the right direction through books and pamphlets, through public and private speaking. The *Christian Revolution Series**—books by well-known thinkers, re-stating the great religious facts on which Christian peace-making rests and examining the pacifist position from different angles—began to appear. A Guide to books for children on true heroism, patriotism and international friendship was undertaken.† The members themselves, isolated often from their other friends by their opinions, met in groups for fellowship, encouragement and common thought.

THE MOVEMENT SPREADS TO AMERICA

Meanwhile, in 1915, Henry Hodgkin and, later, Leyton Richards, had visited the United States of America and found a welcome for the Fellowship there. America was still neutral, but strong forces were impelling her towards coming into the struggle and men were finding it necessary to take up a definite position on the questions arising. The outbreak of intolerance which accompanied her entry into the war involved the members of the American Fellowship in extraordinary difficulties. It fell to them not only to bear witness to its principles but to fight for liberty of thought and speech and assembly. "Of the thousand members enrolled in the States before and during the war, some went to prison as conscientious objectors; some worked in Friends' reconstruction units; some as chaplains. Many suffered isolation, persecution, loss; some resigned."

* Cf. p. 82.

† *A Child's Bookshelf*, by Lilian Stevenson (Student Christian Movement, 3s.)

REFUSAL OF MILITARY SERVICE

In both countries thought and activity in the early days centred largely round the conscientious objector. Conscription only became operative in 1916 in Great Britain and in 1917 in America: the earlier years of the war, when all around men were volunteering, were years of acute tension for every chivalrous soul. Later, refusal of military service resulted for large numbers in imprisonment for considerable periods. Over 600 members of the Fellowship went to prison in Great Britain. A labour bureau, to find work for men dismissed because they would not enlist, had already been found necessary in England, but with the passing of the Military Service Act, further problems were raised. Court Martials were attended, prisoners visited, and joint action taken from time to time with societies such as the No Conscription Fellowship and the Friends' Service Committee. Circulars of information and counsel were continuously sent out to all members of military age. A Joint Advisory Council was formed of the three bodies. Military Service Acts were carefully watched and dealt with. An emergency fund was started to help the dependents of the men affected. Many of those liberated for ill health, or discharged at the Armistice, needed after-care. The Fellowship of Reconciliation was entrusted by the Joint Advisory Council with this very extensive task. Special funds were raised and homes secured for convalescents. Clothing, hospitality, employment—all were needed. In addition to those in prison, men working under the Government Home Office Scheme had eventually to be re-absorbed. "C.O.'s" were not popular, yet it was a brave fight for truth and liberty that these unpopular men were waging. The future alone will show for how much it counted. In America, however, in spite of the rigour of court martial sentences, there was little economic persecution and no need of relief work, and conscientious objectors had comparatively little trouble in being re-absorbed into ordinary life after they had finished their alternative service or had been released from detention camp or prison.*

Such were some of the activities of the war years in England and America when in November, 1918, the Armistice brought to an end four years of horror and tragedy.

BEGINNINGS IN HOLLAND AND IN SWEDEN

In other lands also these years had brought much searching of heart. In 1916, a year after the foundation of the American Fellowship, the inspiration of the new Movement was brought

* For a fuller treatment of the whole subject, see Ch. VIII.

to Holland by Cornelis Boeke, and a "Brotherhood in Christ," alive with all the enthusiasm of youth, arose there. In Sweden, two years later, a little group of nine persons, with a deep concern for the bearing of Christianity on social and international problems, came together in Stockholm for some days' quiet thought to find that each of them had reached a new outlook on Christianity and its demands on its followers, particularly in what concerned the social and international life of the day. Two of the nine stepped out, one with the words: "I believe that you others are right, but I am not ready for it." The other seven decided to found a "League for Christian Citizenship," in which radical social reform and war against war should stand together and the Gospel of Jesus Christ be proclaimed as having to do not only with individual lives but with the life of nations.

The ground was prepared when, a year after the Armistice, it was possible once again to cross the frontiers and to call together at Bilthoven, the home of the Dutch Brotherhood, an international group. The Fellowship of Reconciliation could now be actually, what in each land it had always been potentially, an International Fellowship.

Chapter II

A MEMORABLE INTERNATIONAL GATHERING

FIIFTY men and women from ten countries met in conference at Bilthoven, near Utrecht, in October, 1919. The invitations went out in the names of Henry Hodgkin and Cornelis Boeke. Among those present were: From Germany, Siegmund Schultze, Otto Roth and Rheinold Schairer; from France, Leon Revoyre and Henri Huchet; from Holland, Cornelis Boeke, T. B. Th. Hugenholtz, Rob Limbourg and Nannie Grondhout; from Denmark, Kirsten Svelmoe-Thomsen, Holgar Larsen and Peter Manniche; from Finland, Mathilda Wrede; from Norway, N. B. Thvedt and I. Klaverness; from Switzerland, Pierre Ceresole; from Hungary, Z. L. I. von Galsuebos; from Great Britain, Gerard Collier, Oliver Dryer, Henry T. Hodgkin, Leyton Richards, Wilfred Wellock; from America, Noble Elderkin.

Quietly and without any sense of hurry one and another told of how things had gone in their country during the estranging years of war till it became evident that convictions which many had worked out in loneliness had come independently to persons in far distant countries. One who was present writes of those memorable days: "No effort was made to achieve unity, for unity was a central fact of experience. The absence of any barrier, the fellowship in worship and service, the joy of discovering one another—all these made of scattered individuals the beginning of a true family We knew ourselves to be no longer lonely pioneers but part of a great unseen company." Another writes: "Our unity was rooted in a deep, common conviction. Its strength lay in this that we could place no loyalty before loyalty to Jesus." Other international societies met after the war to take up painfully their broken threads of intercourse: this Movement was born out of the faith that what God had been saying to some He must have been saying to others also. We met as strangers: we parted, a Fellowship.

It was a gathering of those to whom the war had meant no broken fellowship and between whom, therefore, there could be no sense of barrier. Yet we met not as those who could stand apart but burdened with a deep sense of guilt for our share, individual and national, in its sin and tragedy. The burden rested on all,

belligerent and neutral alike. We felt these things afresh : we saw them more clearly. Through no reproaches on either side but in the common shame and sorrow of our hearts before God we faced together the bare facts of war and its terrible legacies. This sense of corporate guilt is apparent in the message entitled "The Way" sent out after the conference. "We have escaped suffering and danger at the cost of pain and peril to others ; we have so failed in love that violence seemed to be the only way of defence ; we have maintained our rights when others were denied theirs ; we have perpetuated hatred instead of dispelling it by forgiveness and love. We all stand condemned before God. None can cast a stone at his brother." But the tide of hope was a full and rising tide. "The only way to bring security, justice and joy into the world is the way of Jesus, the way of reconciliation that brings men to their Father and makes them brothers in one family Revolution through reconciliation. Jesus is the real revolutionary because He is the real reconciler. If we take His way, we too will be reconcilers and revolutionaries. The path lies open to every man who loves and dares."

Chapter III

TAKING TRUTH ACROSS FRONTIERS

THE initial gathering at Bilthoven was not an end in itself. Straight from the warmth of that first conference a group of the delegates—French, German, British, Neutral : Revoyre Roth, Hodgkin, Dryer, Boeke, Kirsten Svelmoe-Thomsen, Mathilda Wrede—travelled for a week round Holland holding meetings in the towns of Amsterdam, Purmerend, Leyden, Rotterdam, the Hague, Utrecht. Mathilda Wrede spoke in her vivid and heart-searching way of what love and trust could do and, indeed, had done, for the depraved convicts who had become her friends. Revoyre and Roth, Frenchman and German, gave their testimony. It was no second-hand picture : Roth had fought in the war. Henry Hodgkin presented the way of Christian revolution in clear and convincing terms and “the common people heard gladly.” One looks back to varied audiences in country town or university centre or busy trading city. One recalls a crowded auction-hall in Rotterdam, seated for 400, with many more standing, silent, attentive, listening. Even to see side by side on one platform men and women from lands so lately at war had an extraordinary effect in those days.

AN INTERNATIONAL TOUR THROUGH GERMANY

If this was so in a neutral land how much more in an enemy country ! A year later, in January, 1921, a similar group—American, French, British, German, Dutch : Sayre, Revoyre, Dryer, Koch and Boeke—toured for three weeks up and down Germany, sometimes breaking into two parties so as to cover more ground. They visited Hanover, Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Munich, Stuttgart, Marburg, Cassel, Dortmund, Cologne, Solingen, Bonn and Düsseldorf, the land-settlement at Bergfried in Bavaria and the Neuwerk group at Schlüchtern near Frankfurt. Vivid recollections of that tour remain with those who took part. The Frenchman, refused a lodging, humorously recounting his experience and finding the “enemy” audience hotly repudiating the action of their countrymen : the eager groups of young men and women pressing round the speakers at the close and asking if they could not come back soon and stay longer. “I could not have believed it possible,” said one after a talk far into the night, “to become so intimate with a foreigner.” But then these were “no more foreigners.” The Youth Movement was at its height

and schemes of free educational communities, land colonies, settlements on a communistic basis, were in the air. The tour brought the speakers into touch with many different kinds of groups and enabled them to form some estimate of the possibilities of such a movement in Germany. A German conference for the following summer was planned as an outcome.

THE DEVASTATED AREA OF FRANCE

Meanwhile, the message of reconciliation was being given in deeds as well as in words. For some months in the winter of 1920-21 an international unit, drawn from six nationalities—Swiss, Hungarian, British, Dutch, Austrian, and German—carried on reconstruction work in the devastated area at Esnes, near Verdun. At that time France was perhaps the most difficult field for the planting of international ideals. Faith in human nature and especially in German human nature was largely lacking. The message of the Fellowship could be preached there mainly by deeds. So one November evening the group arrived, found shelter for the night, and two days later laid the corner stone of their first building. The plan was to contract for the erection of a number of wooden houses at the price paid by the Government and, after paying the team expenses, to turn the profits to some work of public utility in the district. The French authorities were sympathetic and it was hoped to secure the goodwill of the people. By Christmas they could report two houses built and a third under construction. A Swiss Colonel—an expert amateur joiner—was now one of the number. Then the Government cancelled the contract for lack of funds, but the group, nothing daunted, started to clear the debris of war from the fields, to fill up shell holes, to prepare the land for cultivation and to build a road. And then in April the Prefect of the district declared that recent developments in Franco-German politics had made it necessary to suppress the work, and the group dispersed, but not without having had its effect in the neighbourhood. We shall hear of some of them again. The experiment was brief but unique, and the idea lived on. "Esnes" was the precursor of the Movement for Voluntary Civilian Service, led by Pierre Ceresole, which, in 1928, enrolled 632 men and 78 women from all parts of Europe in the service of their fellows in distress in Lichtenstein.

WITH A FRENCH JOURNALIST THROUGH GERMANY

The following year, January, 1922, another project was undertaken. The suggestion came from a Frenchwoman. How could France come to know of "the other Germany" when her Press seemed unaware of its existence? Could French journalists be

taken round Germany and given an opportunity of knowing the spirit and ideals of progressive circles there? In particular it was important that the widespread desire for reconciliation with France, the anti-militarist spirit in the Labour Movement and the spiritual movements among the youth of Germany, should be made known to French journalists and through them, as far as possible, to the French public. Several representatives of English and French newspapers had agreed to take part, but a French political crisis intervened, and in the end only one French journalist, with Pierre Ceresole and the General Secretary, went on the ten days' tour. The organisation of the German plans had been entrusted to Siegmund Schultze and Dr. Elizabeth Rotten. Eight towns were visited—Essen, Dortmund, Leipzic, Berlin, Frankfurt, Schlüchtern, Cassel, Mainz. At each centre local friends had called together groups drawn from many and varied circles to meet the visitors in intimate and frank conversation and discussion. Teachers, workers, business men, journalists, publishers, students and professors; leaders and members of various youth movements, churches, political parties and trades unions; social workers and members of community settlements on the land and in the city, were among those who took part. At some centres, as at Essen and Dortmund, the visitors spoke at large public meetings arranged by the German Peace Society. Contacts with individuals and with groups of journalists and editors resulted in interesting discussions on the general political situation in Europe. A desire for closer collaboration with journals in England and France was frequently expressed. A number of impressions were conveyed by the different groups to the visitors and positive suggestions made for strengthening mutual understanding and confidence, including the idea of similarly conducting German journalists through France. At Dortmund, a large meeting of some 800 workers left no room for doubt as to the response of the Westphalian workers to sentiments of peace, while the French journalist was able to assure his audience of the existence of real understanding and desire for reconciliation not only among large sections of the Labour Movement, but notably among French elementary school teachers.

The power of the Press to-day for good or ill is very great, and this experiment would bear repetition. If only the people of each land could gain a truer picture of their neighbours much might be accomplished in international friendship.

MESSENGERS OF PEACE

In the years following the war various tours were undertaken, not only by secretaries of the Movement, but by quite ordinary

folk. The occasions of the meeting of the International Council in Switzerland in 1923, and in England in 1924, were used in this way to promote fresh interest in those countries, much as had been done previously in Holland and in Germany. In 1925, the present French secretary visited a number of student centres in Germany; and in 1926 a three-weeks' tour of French towns was made by a German pastor, at the invitation of some French Protestant pastors and of the theological faculties of Paris and Montpellier. In most places he was the first German to speak since the war, and his message was well received. In 1925 a group of three, from Sweden, England and Czechoslovakia visited Estonia and Latvia. In 1926 a British and a Norwegian friend visited Poland. Youth groups in various lands have been visited by an Austrian member.

But these more official contacts were being continually supplemented by personal visits. Some worked with the Quakers in France; others in Germany among the children and the students suffering in enfeebled bodies the effects of blockade; some went independently on personal missions of goodwill and friendship. The welcome these received was touching, and the value of simple, human kindness in breaking down suspicion and enmity was demonstrated in an unforgettable way.

"You came to us as a joy-bringing angel from a foreign land," wrote one after such a visit from an "ex-enemy" in 1919. "I am only a simple German woman and do not understand politics and do not know where to seek for the reason of this terrible war. I only know that our poor nation is suffering, but whether for its own or for others' sins I know not. My children have been ill for a long time. One little one died three years ago from under-feeding. Therefore I ask all the time 'Dear God, give us true peace' and then we hope all men will have kindlier thoughts and that each will not think only of his own gain."

Tours continue to be made year by year; in some cases to countries like Denmark or Sweden or Germany, where the Movement has already gained a footing and where the object is rather to consolidate than to break new ground. Public meetings are held; smaller meetings for special groups of ministers, teachers and workers; discussions with the few who want to hear more, or who are anxious to explain that what might be possible in some other country is quite out of the question in *their* land. Such tours mean accepting the hospitality of kindly disposed strangers who very soon become friends. The insight gained into the home life of another nation goes a long way towards the understanding of the mentality of that nation as a whole.

But the most difficult, and yet perhaps the most rewarding, are the pioneer tours—in Poland or the Baltic States or the Balkans,

where one starts in with little more than a list of miscellaneous addresses, a few points of contact, some small knowledge of conditions and a large faith that here too there must be men and women who are coming to believe that a new way can be found and must be followed. Years of invasion and revolution and anarchy have blotted out the meaning and the possibility of peace in some lands. "We used to hear such things when I was a child," said one young girl in Latvia, "but one never hears them now." Seekers are not to be found, however, behind every door to which one is directed. There are many disappointments: people who come to hear out of mild curiosity and go away unimpressed; meetings for Youth attended by the aged and unprogressive; "pacifists" who are strangely unpeaceful; and visionaries who can only see their own slogan as a cure for all ills. But, here and there, when one meets a thirsty soul or when an eager group follows from one meeting to another, the reward is great.

Sometimes there are special opportunities. In Estonia, in 1925, it was made possible for a Czech and an English speaker to address the older boys and girls in eight of the schools and to bring them, for the first time, thoughts of international friendship and solidarity. In the Balkans, in 1925, groups of Orthodox priests and groups of doctors came together. Entrance is often found among students and teachers. Kindred societies, not actually committed to a pacifist faith, are helpful in facilitating contacts. The kindly co-operation and help of workers in the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. should be mentioned, for in lonely outposts they are already frequently promoting international friendliness.

Thus, while other peace bodies have felt it necessary to move with greater caution, this Fellowship has abundantly proved that it is possible and worth while, even on the heels of a tragedy like the Great War, to take truth across many a frontier, if it be done in courtesy, simplicity and sympathy, with readiness to receive as well as to give.

Chapter IV

CHILD RECONCILERS

“**T**HE Children’s Invasion began long before the signing of the Peace Treaty ; and Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland alike went down before the conquering child. Italy held out until peace was officially restored and then opened her arms to many thousands of little hungry ‘ enemy ’ people. Those who visited Vienna returned to England telling how, from time to time, they would come across the strange sight of a healthy child and, on enquiry, learn that for two months it had been taken away from scenes of disaster and want, and among the kindly people of a kindly country brought back to health.”*

THE COMING OF THE AUSTRIAN CHILDREN

Early in 1920 conditional permission was obtained from the British Government to bring to England a number of children from Central Europe. With the support of the “ Save the Children Fund ” schemes were set on foot and a suitable camp found at Sandwich which was used for reception and “ sorting.” A Dutch Committee dealing with relief undertook to bring the children from Vienna to Holland. In May, the first company of 550 children left Vienna, the Mayor expressing the thanks of the city to those who were conducting the party and asking them to assure the English people of the gratitude his people felt for what was being done. When, after a period of quarantine, the first batch had been placed out in the homes offered, others followed from Budapest. A third group came in October, again from Vienna. In all, some 1,500 were brought over and repatriated a year later.

Not all the needy children were eligible—not indeed the most needy. While the selection was being made in Budapest, some 8,000 mothers crowded round the buildings, petitioning for their children to be allowed to come. Only those could be sent who were guaranteed free from disease and able to stand the long journey ; yet even these children were, according to the doctors who inspected them on arrival, “ living evidence of the enormous distress which must exist in Central Europe.” Children of nine were often only the size of a normal child of six, and a trifling

* *Our Enemy Children*. Report for 1920 of British F.o.R. Children’s Hospitality Committee.

fall would involve the breakage of a bone and perhaps a serious operation. Much of their underclothing was made of sacking, and at first they could digest no fats, but soon they settled down to new conditions. One child, reprimanded for letting the camp water-taps run, wrote home that "water is very expensive in England but you can have as much milk as you like."

In all this work the Fellowship of Reconciliation took a leading part. It found homes for some 300 in the early stages and when, in November, 150 still remained in camp without invitations, the Fellowship took over the discovery of additional hospitality, thus avoiding the disastrous impression that would have been created if children, brought over to be guests in a former "enemy" land, had been sent back to starvation without crossing the threshold of a British home. More than 2,000 people entertained the children for periods ranging from a few weeks to over a year, and this at a time when the fierce temper of war was being only slowly curbed.

During their stay the children were kept in close touch with their parents at home. They were under the direct supervision of the Local Health Authority and, on their return, an After-Care Committee continued to care for them. Conditions in Austria and Hungary at that time, though improved, were very different from conditions in England, and it seemed the clear duty of all concerned to prevent the loss of what had been gained. Where the child's family had fallen below the point where adequate nourishment was possible, relief was given in kind and, for a time, some 650 families in Vienna and 300 in Budapest needed such help. English clubs and an English library were started and this club work still continues. The knowledge of another tongue is in itself an economic asset, but the chief value of these clubs lies in the strengthening of the bonds which link the children to the land which befriended them, and this has had its effect on the parents. To-day, "after-care" means enabling these boys and girls by wise help to take advantage of an apprenticeship or of other technical or commercial tuition, thus carrying them on to the threshold of manhood and womanhood and giving them, instead of "blind-alley" employment, an economic start in life. A training-scheme has been started through the generosity of foster-parents and others, and the help given has often made all the difference to the child's future.

RUSSIAN CHILDREN—AN ATTEMPT FRUSTRATED

No sooner had the Austrian children been repatriated than another "enemy"—and formally "allied"—land claimed attention. In 1921 famine was raging in Russia and relief of all kinds

was needed. The Friends' work for Russia will ever live—a splendid memorial—together with their work in the devastated areas of France and among the victims of war and blockade in Germany and Austria. Members of the Fellowship were sharing in such relief as individuals, but the question arose, could not help of a more permanent kind be given, as had been done for Austria and Hungary, by bringing Russian children for a year to England, and would not that be a new kind of "diplomacy," the best way of securing an understanding peace between the two countries? Government bodies, transport agencies and philanthropic societies in Norway, Sweden and Finland were linked up; the co-operation both of the Soviet Government and of "White" Russians in exile was enlisted to facilitate the transport to England of the children from the famine area; members of the Fellowship in the different lands to be traversed offered their services, and the British Fellowship was ready to arrange hospitality for a year among its members and friends. As with Austria and Hungary, this experiment might have forged strong links between the lands so brought together, but the plan was not realised owing to the final veto of the British Government. The preparations, however, bore eloquent witness to the solidarity of an international family whose members stand ready to help the weak of whatever nation.

HELP FOR GERMAN CHILDREN

Later, in 1923, when distress was acute in Germany, funds were again raised, but this time relief work was carried on in Germany itself, and the help rendered was in making possible a convalescent home in East Berlin and in relief-measures among workers' families in other German towns, concentrating chiefly on sending children into the country and building them up under medical supervision. In this way some 500 children were given a two months' period of convalescence.

Space has been given to the story of the stay of the Austrian children in England both because it was a "reparation" of the best kind to an enemy land and because the Fellowship of Reconciliation, as such, took a leading part in carrying it out. But all along, in neutral lands, members of the Fellowship were among those who cared for the constant stream of needy children who passed to and fro with the same benefits to health and the same new links of gratitude and friendship. Also, in many lands, an impetus has been given by the Fellowship to the planning of hospitality for children from great cities. Some of the community settlements in Germany in touch with the Fellowship there, notably at Sannerz and at Neu Sonnefeld, have made the

care of neglected children a main part of their work. After the repatriation of the Austrian children the hospitality work in Great Britain was continued in relation to children suffering especially during times of strikes and unemployment. Children from slums and from mining areas have had happier homes thrown open to them for a time, and these have been of all kinds, workers' and leisured alike.

Children have also been exchanged for the holidays between homes of different racial sections of the community as, for example, in Czechoslovakia, where the Fellowship has been brought into touch with over 2,000 Czech and German homes in this way during the past year.

"You have taken to you a child of a stranger. You took care for him and loved him as one of your own blood. I can hardly thank you for your goodness, but the love which my son feels in his little soul towards you he shall hold it during his whole life." So runs the letter of an Austrian mother to the foster-parents in whose home her child had spent many months. The unconscious influence of a little child, dependent upon strangers for the supply of his everyday needs, for food and shelter, care and love, has proved time and again to be a force that can hardly be measured in the breaking down of barriers and the healing of long-standing enmities.

Chapter V

CONFLICT AND CONFERENCE

WHAT happens after one of the tours described in a previous chapter? Usually the coming together of a group—perhaps at first literally “two or three”—in some centre. Correspondence keeps up the link formed; next year one of the group may come to an international conference where he will meet with others and return with new ideas and fresh courage.

ARE CONFERENCES ANY GOOD?

This Movement has proved that international conferences—so long as they are not too frequent and are not allowed to absorb time and energy better given to more direct work—are well worth while. Not perhaps so much because of the vision of the speakers or the clarity of the discussions but chiefly because the only way for people to understand one another *is* to meet; and also because most of the practical pieces of work carried on to-day in the name of the Fellowship owe their first inspiration to one of these gatherings.

THE SECOND BILTHOVEN CONFERENCE

The first conference in 1919 has already been described. The second, in 1920, meeting again at Bilthoven, brought the Movement into direct touch with three streams of life and thought not represented at the earlier gathering, namely, the Youth Movements of Germany and Switzerland, inner movements in the Roman Church, and the thought of Eastern nations whose representatives helped us to a deeper understanding of our message and brought home the conviction that Western Christianity is being weighed and found wanting by the peoples of the East. A resolution was passed on the race problem: “Men must learn to treat one another simply as human beings and not as of a supposedly superior or inferior race, and to express this fundamental fact in political, economic and social life. . . .” Differences there were in mentality and standpoint—had all been of one type there might have been an element of unreality—but in the very clash of temperaments—priest and ex-priest, bishop and socialist, Frei Deutscher and Lutheran pastor, state-school head-mistress and Indian nationalist, Sinn Feiner and former Prussian officer—there was

within the little company some counterpart of the seething tide of unrest and search and desire that was sweeping through the world. Sixty were present from sixteen countries.

“ SONNTAGBERG,” “ NYBORG,” “ BAD-BOLL,”
AND “ OBERAMMERGAU ”

The first large international conference met at Sonntagberg, Austria, in August, 1922. Two hundred from twenty nations were present. A message to the Churches was sent out from this conference. It also marked the beginning of personal contacts with Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and with non-Christian Orientals. At Nyborg, in 1923, again some two hundred came together. At this conference social and industrial problems received more consideration than previously. Meeting in Denmark, it was also possible for a larger number of Scandinavian friends to be present. But such a general meeting was hardly advisable every year. At Bad-Boll, in 1924, the conference was deliberately restricted to about one hundred, so that there might be more possibility of reviewing foundations. The question of private property and the nature of the basis were examined with much care, and to this conference we owe a statement on the religious basis of the Fellowship. The next international conference met at Oberammergau, in Bavaria, in 1926, with the hallowed associations of its Passion Play lingering about the village. Two hundred and twenty, from twenty-four nations, met there. The general theme, “The Mind of Europe,” was treated by experts. Post-Locarno Western Europe with the question of disarmament, and South-Eastern Europe with the problem of minorities, received serious consideration—the minority question becoming increasingly a live issue as we learned more of conditions in countries where this is a constant and pressing problem. There was also a frank facing of ourselves as others see us, as a Frenchman, an Englishman and a German told in turn what was thought of each nation in *his* country! Each conference has helped to break down some further barrier and added something fresh to the sum total of mutual understanding. In August, 1929, it is proposed to hold a general conference at Lyons, on “Christ and the Class-Struggle,” a question which, equally with international peace, must be faced by our generation.

SECTIONAL CONFERENCES

The Youth Camps, of which three have now been held, are described in another chapter.* Equally important have been

* Cf. Ch. VI.

the smaller conferences, each with its special characteristics : Beneckenstein, in 1921—the first to unite the various German groups ; the Franco-German-Belgian groups at Speztgart, 1923 ; Koenigsfeld, 1924, and Boitsfort, 1925 ; the South-Eastern European conferences at Stramberg in 1924, and Gaming in 1925 ; the conference of Catholics on their own problems at Clerf in 1926 ; and the Polish-German Catholic conference at Warsaw in 1927. While international conferences have all the inspiration of large numbers and wide variety, concentration on special and local problems is more possible at these smaller gatherings. The conference at Tartu, Estonia, in October, 1928, would seem, with its nearly 200 members and its concentration on Baltic lands, to have combined both aims.

UNDER THE SURFACE

Underneath the surface, however, even in the most friendly gathering, many differences and misunderstandings remain to be adjusted. Long standing animosities, racial and religious, do not melt away at once, even in the genial warmth of fellowship. Differences must be *studied*, valued, appreciated. Three outstanding principles hold sway at the conferences of the Fellowship—Frankness—Respect—Faith. Mutual frankness : no glossing over of differences—it is extraordinary what a relief it is to men and women to know that they can say what they really think ! Mutual respect : a real and keen interest in the other man—however different or remote he may at first seem—and a belief in “that of God” in him which commands reverence. And, over and beyond this, a firm faith that within the love of God all conflicts can be resolved, all differences reconciled, become, in fact, not barriers but open doors into other lives. “Only the Cross can unify mankind.”

HOW IT STRUCK A GERMAN WOMAN

Here is how one conference struck a German woman of ability and experience as she wrote an account of it to a women's newspaper. “At Oberammergau one felt one was among brothers and sisters. One did not need to be cautious or reserved nor put out feelers to see if one were talking to someone of the ‘Left’ or of the ‘Right’ party, and consider what one could say to him and what one could not. No, they were just persons—persons ready to understand and be patient and appreciative. It was impossible among them to exhibit that instinctive reserve and aloofness that characterise the intercourse of educated Europeans

who have not been introduced ! One smiled in a friendly way when one met, and the kindly smile forged a link where knowledge of the other's language was insufficient. One invited oneself to stay with all and sundry through half Europe. One sang the same hymns, even if in different words—a deeply symbolic act." She remarks on the absence of coercion even in seeking to make recruits to the pacifist point of view. "They bore their testimony and left it at that." She speaks of "the very human element" elevated by the infusion of "something higher that made for harmony." She refers to critical moments in discussion but records that such shoals were navigated in the spirit of Christ. And lest her readers should fear to weaken their good patriotism, she assures them that never had she felt so keenly German as there. "Only through seeing the different ways of other nations does one realise the individual personality of one's own nation or, on the other hand, its weaknesses," adding that "to do *that* is no great harm." "A hundred learned books could not give one so much living knowledge about other nations as one gained from the mental impressions of those few days Here were not just a few peace optimists met to lull one another to sleep in pleasant dreams, but keen thinkers and politicians extraordinarily well informed, and men who had gone through deep experiences. One saw things as they are and sometimes almost despaired, but against all this there rose the 'nevertheless' of faith!"

Such conferences have a real uniting value. They give to isolated members of an international movement fresh inspiration ; they bring into one common whole the thought and experience of each land ; they widen the field for experiment. Many speak of the relief of being able to study and discuss burning social and political problems in an atmosphere of frankness, mutual respect and spiritual sincerity. Still more bear witness to the value of meeting those of like aim but differing background, and of finding how many-sided and far-reaching are the implications of what seems at first a simple view of life.

THE UNDERLYING UNITY

While differences are there and cannot be ignored or minimised, once they are recognised it is possible to reach the deeper stratum which is common ground. One goes back in thought to the Nyborg Conference in 1923 when feeling on the occupation of the Ruhr was at its height. Frenchmen and Germans—and a number from the Occupied Area were there—met together apart and "something happened" in that atmosphere of comradeship. One thinks of the groups of Frenchmen and Germans and Belgians at Spetzgart and Koenigsfeld and Boitsfort finding the sense of

enrichment that comes from the growing realisation that the French and German and Belgian peoples complement each other. Or the fortnight's walking tour which brought to some thirty German and French students the intimacy of life in common, tramping along the roads and sleeping in barns on the hay. Or the visit of a group of Germans to the devastated area of France and their reception there and how together they found a spiritual unity. How first the Germans spoke of their economic and spiritual distress and of their great hope in the Youth Movement : of the weariness of the German people of war and yet how they dared not go too far because they had no trust in France and her imperialism ; and then the French told of how in France there was no real desire for annexation only a vain pursuit of glory and that the bulk of the French people asked but to be left alone. "Directly the first words had been said," so writes the Alsatian who conducted the party, "we felt we were children of the same spirit, we felt that a deep relationship united us for, separately, we had each been making the same observations." Or take another group of "opposites": the Poles and Germans at Warsaw; or representatives of different Balkan nations at Oberammergau, or Stramberg or Gaming. The same results follow in greater or less degree every such adventure in mutual understanding, appreciation and comradeship.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

Or turn to the Far East. In 1922 feeling was running high between China and Japan. Japanese goods were boycotted ; Japanese speakers unwelcome. There was a general sense of fear and distrust shared even by the Christian church. To the Chinese Christians grave moral issues were involved. They could not understand why the Japanese Christians did not vigorously protest. On the other hand, the Japanese censorship was strict and Japan, while aware of the distrust, knew little of its causes. Most people felt that it was quite hopeless to get Christians together from the two countries. Gradually, however, on the initiative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, some thirty Chinese were found ready to meet and talk things out frankly. A similar group was discovered in Japan ; each group appointed six delegates and two or three foreigners, trusted by both sides, were invited. The conference went deep. After a day of discussion on general principles, Japan's actions in China were faced. The Japanese listened almost in silence. At the close of the day a Japanese expressed his shame and penitence at his country's wrongdoing, and one and another of the Chinese came forward and took him by the hand. Next day the Japanese explained their situation

and a strong sense of sympathy with "the other Japan" was created. The two groups met a second time and the outcome was a deeper understanding, based on frank acceptance of facts and common devotion to Christ.

FACING REALITY

This Movement ventures all on the certainty that there is in the other man that which can be appreciated and co-operated with. Just as, immediately after the war, without waiting for resentment to die down, it hastened across frontiers to find the other brothers in the one family, so to-day caution and reserve give place—not to familiarity and condescension or to riding rough-shod over inherited prejudices and sensitiveness—but to mutual confidence and respect. Conferences, whether in small or large groups, are only a beginning. It is when the delegates return to the hard school of everyday life that the inspiration gained is transmuted—often amid much loneliness and mis-understanding—from words to deeds, from theory to practice. He who would meet and overcome ancient suspicions, antagonisms and prejudices will have need of sincerity, humility, patience. The victories of Love are sure, but they are not always swift.

Chapter VI

THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH

WE have spoken of the need of patience. If Youth has less patience, it has also fewer prejudices ; less to unlearn of habit and custom ; a keener interest in the unfamiliar and the unexplored. If we would see in Europe a true and lasting peace, it is to the younger men and women that we must look.

SUMMER SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

The Oberammergau conference in 1926 was preceded by a Summer School for younger leaders, which lasted three weeks and united some thirty young people in a fellowship of study and life in common which meant much for future work. The programme included a course on Post-War Europe by Delisle Burns ; the Aims of Labour, by P. H. Henri, of the International Labour Office ; The Social Message of the Prophets, by Siegmund Schultze ; Religion and Life, by Bishop Paul Jones ; Industry and Christian Principles, by George Davies. The refusal of military service, the principles of the Fellowship, the problem of reconciliation in industry, the work of the International Civilian Service Movement—all these were studied together. The evenings were given to informal talks on conditions in the countries represented, to the eager discussion of problems, or to national folk-songs and dances. One night a musician played for us a movement by Brahms in twenty-four variations. That, said our leader, was a picture of our Summer School—twenty-four variations, but one human theme.

Next year, in the summer of 1927, some two hundred young people gathered at Vaumarcus Camp among the woods on the slopes of Lake Neuchâtel, to study the message of St. Francis for to-day ; and St. Francis had much to say to them on questions of discipline and humility, of poverty and peace. The "Dedication" drawn up at the close and accepted as gathering up the aspirations of those present, shows the impression made ; the conviction of a sharing in corporate guilt because of social injustice and misery ; the sense of powerlessness either to *be* better or to *do* more ; the determination to be more faithful by the help of God in the future. It concludes :—

A DEDICATION OF YOUTH

"In the sureness that God is waiting to renew and to work through us, we give ourselves gladly and unreservedly to Him;

"To be used in the service of all who are poor and rejected, seeking to right the wrong, and to understand and help to remove causes of oppression and suffering;

"To be led into a more real simplicity of life, accounting all we possess as held in trust for God and our brothers;

"To be true peacemakers, refusing the way of violence;

"To seek in all humility, whatever it may cost, to bring the peace and the love of God into all relations with our fellows, so making brotherhood a reality and bringing nearer the Kingdom of God on earth.

"All that such a way of life may mean we cannot yet see but we venture on this way in humility and hope, putting our whole trust in God with whom all things are possible."

A YOUTH CAMP ON THE KENTISH COAST

In the summer of 1928 an International Youth Camp met at Sandwich, on the south-east coast of England, to discuss Spiritual Foundations of Peacemaking. This time the British Fellowship were the hosts, and half the two hundred and twenty campers were British. At Vaumarcus the rallying point had been the historic figure of Francis; at Sandwich the challenge was to the reality of our pacifist profession. Did we know what were the spiritual foundations of peacemaking and were we building on them? It was a facing up to the world as it is with its materialism and injustice, its varied evil and its mixed good, but also to the spiritual resources at the disposal of every sincere peacemaker. The economic background, the roots of economic injustice, the inter-relation of society and the individual, the challenge of evil and the power of forgiving love, the losing of a self that seeks self-expression but must lose in order to find, the need for a new conception of the transcendent purpose of God—these were the subjects considered. Discussion groups provided an opportunity for bringing the questions raised down to the level of everyday experience.

The closing meeting was out of doors. When the curfew had tolled and night crept gently on, representatives of the eighteen nations present formed a circle round the unlit camp fire, the torch passing from hand to hand till it reached the little son of Kaspar Mayr and, led by Pfarrer Fritze, the oldest camper present, he set the fire ablaze. One and another stepped out from

the crowd into the circle of light to say what the camp had meant to them or what the leaping flames signified ; then, mostly in silence, the campers watched the fire die slowly down.

Emotional ? Dramatic merely ? Or was it something more —a fitting symbol of the task entrusted anew to youth in each generation to pass on the torch of truth and to light the fire of sacrifice ?

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT TO-DAY

During the past years contacts have been established with other Youth Movements, and those who have been at Oberammergau or Vaumarcus or Sandwich keep in touch. Some are at close grips themselves with problems of industrial strife and racial antagonism ; others are facing up to the searching questions raised by society to-day, with the help of Outline Studies prepared at the Centre. Correspondence reveals many an inward struggle. To be obedient to the heavenly vision is not easy for youth to-day. But the Youth Movement, while less self-conscious and definite than formerly, is still a spiritual force behind the aspirations of countless young people, not only on the Continent of Europe. Youth Movements within the Fellowship hive off to find their own way and then come back to work it out in closer touch with the main body as has happened recently in America with the Fellowship of Youth for Peace.

There is religious seeking in its deepest sense in all youth circles even among aggressive Communists who would not admit it. There is a reaction against sentimentality, against being exploited as "Youth" to achieve something in the future rather than valued as a present and responsible part of humanity. Sacrifice appeals more than humanitarianism. "Youth everywhere to-day," writes one who has worked in youth groups, "is keenly awake to life and to the need of the times ; sincere in its search for truth, it will not be content with words only : it desires to embody new truths in worthy deeds."

To face page 26.



FRANCE AND GERMANY. A WALKING TOUR, 1925



OBERAMMEGRAU, 1926



LICHTENSTEIN, 1928. AT WORK CLEARING THE DEBRIS



LICHTENSTEIN, 1928. AFTER SIX MONTHS

Chapter VII

VOLUNTARY INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

“**D**EEDS, not words !” This might be the motto of the “*Service Civil*” Movement, a direct outcome of the Fellowship, and so truly a way of conveying its message that some space must be given to its story. It is to Switzerland that we owe the idea.

A number of friends, some of whom—inspired by the Relief Work of the Quakers—had worked after the war at Esnes, near Verdun, in the international reconstruction unit already described,* were convinced that it was mainly through seeing the idea of constructive service carried out in a practical way that society would come to believe that there are other ways for the young and strong to serve their country than by military service. They decided to offer their help during the summer vacation to some village overtaken by one of the sudden calamities so frequent in their land.

HELP FOR SWISS MOUNTAIN VILLAGES

The first experiment was in 1924, at Vers-l’Eglise in the Diablerets, where 30 men worked voluntarily for three weeks, in relays of ten at a time, clearing away the remains of an avalanche which had overspread the fields, restoring the stream to its original bed, building a bridge and so on. The effect on the village of this friendly aid, and particularly that it was given for nothing but love of their country and of their fellow men in distress, was extraordinary. One who was present at the little fête given on the last day by the village commune to the workers tells how good-natured tolerance towards amateurs had changed to gratitude and admiration and how, out of their poverty, the commune presented the group with two hundred and fifty Swiss francs to make similar work possible the next year for some other village.

That autumn, a catastrophe on a much larger scale occurred in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland through a landslide at Someo in Canton Ticino. Those who had originated the first scheme issued an appeal in the Swiss Press to all who loved their country—not only those opposed to war—to come and work with them and help their fellow countrymen in this hour of need. Volunteers poured in till altogether three hundred had responded.

* Cf. p. 10.

The work at Someo was a serious undertaking successfully carried out. The spirit of the original group—a spirit of real devotion and unselfish service-dominated the whole enterprise.

In the summer of 1926 some seventy volunteers—teachers, ministers, officials, business men, artisans, all pacifists—worked at Almens in the Engadine, working about twenty at a time for eight weeks, giving an average of a fortnight each, repairing the damage caused by a flow of mud and stones which had completely blocked the bed of the stream.

In 1927 a smaller group worked at Feldis, another village in the neighbourhood, clearing the fields of the villagers from the encroachments of parasitic plants and shrubs which threatened to make tillage impossible. The Mayor of Almens was the first to offer his services.

AN INTERNATIONAL ARMY OF GOODWILL

At Someo brotherly help had been rendered by men from the German and French cantons to their Italian-speaking fellow countrymen with their supposedly Italian leanings. In 1927—though the plan could not in the end be carried out—the group had purposed to go to the help of suffering villages in Southern France. The aim of this Voluntary Service is not merely national—love of country is indeed a fine and true element in it—but international, and the hope is that, in time, there may be an international army of goodwill and mutual service ready to be mobilised across any frontier as occasion arises.

THE CALL FROM LICHENSTEIN

In 1928 a call came to work for the little Principality of Lichtenstein where, in the floods of the previous year, the Rhine had burst its banks and covered acres of land with debris. The appeal was signed by fifty-four Swiss men and women, many of them well-known pacifists, but the President of the Swiss Republic and eleven State officials lent their support. The work was placed in the hands of a Peace Committee, helped by a number who did not share their pacifism but held that this work was so important as to be deserving of the assistance of all who believed in goodwill and international reconciliation, irrespective of their political or religious views. To quote from "The Call":

"Across frontiers and barriers erected by man we wish to bring effective help to those in distress. Undeterred by divergencies of opinion on the military question we wish, by mutual assistance between the peoples, to help to create

the new spirit which already makes the very thought of invading another country, weapon in hand, morally impossible. We would desire to pay our tribute to the Austrian and Swiss engineer corps who, in the hour of greatest need and danger, were the first to come and bring help to suffering inhabitants beyond their own frontiers. We wish to continue their work and we hope that the day is not far distant when the armed forces of all lands will know no other task than that of helping their neighbours."

All over Switzerland friends acted as recruiting agents. In other countries the work of enlisting interest, money and offers of service was carried on by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation through voluntary workers in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, France—where the Friends' Centre was also of great assistance—Germany, Holland, Austria and Czechoslovakia. The Lichtenstein communes supplied food, lent buildings and provided straw for bedding: working clothes, tools and other equipment were loaned by the Swiss military stores: Swiss and Austrian railways gave reduced fares, but money had to be found, where needed, to help volunteers from other lands to pay their travelling expenses to the Swiss frontier.

VOLUNTEERS AT WORK

The work began in April and lasted six months. Seven hundred and ten in all volunteered. But for a financial crisis in the Lichtenstein Government in July which, for a time, made the inhabitants fearful of venturing on further reconstruction even with voluntary help, and obliged the commandant of the *Service Civil* unit to cancel immediate offers of service, there would have been at least another 200 at work during the student vacation. Of the 632 men the numbers present at one time varied from 100 to 200, the average period of service being 27 days. Seventy-eight "Sisters," mostly Swiss, looked after the cooking, cleaning and mending and cared for the sick. In spite of the fact that the majority of those volunteering were unaccustomed to hard manual labour, no serious accident occurred. The volunteers came from 22 countries. Switzerland sent 301; Great Britain, 103 (including 1 South African and 2 Indians); Austria, 41; Czechoslovakia, 38; Germany, 32; France, 31; Denmark, 30. There were 18 from Holland, 10 from Sweden and 8 from Norway. Italy sent 4, U.S.A. and Russia 3 each; Poland, Roumania and Finland, 2 each. Iceland, Jugoslavia, Mexico and Spain were each represented by 1 worker. Of the men, 268 were students; 221 professional men, business men, clerks, etc.; 143 manual workers,

labourers and artisans. Among the women were 22 teachers and 6 nurses. Over 50 different professions, trades and occupations were represented.

The work consisted chiefly in clearing away the debris brought down by the flood till the good soil was reached, levelling it, spreading new soil, building a dam, raising the level of the road and restoring irrigation. Besides the work in Lichtenstein at Schaan, Vaduz and Gamprin, similar reparations were carried out at Ringgenberg in the Engadine. In addition, a group continued the work begun in 1927 at Feldis in clearing pastures. Altogether about 100 acres of land were reclaimed.

That the work was no mere holiday adventure can be seen from a circular sent to would-be helpers :

"The week's work will be 48 hours, spread over five and a half days. It will be hard. No one should come who is not in thoroughly sound health or whose main idea is a holiday abroad. Those however who are really anxious to come into contact with the peasant folk of other lands will find this a unique opportunity for real international friendship Volunteers will be lodged in tents, barns and empty buildings. Work will have to be done in the rain This enterprise represents hard work and willingness to co-operate with people of all views, classes and nations. We believe that the work, if done in the right spirit, has a real moral and spiritual value and only ask for offers of service from those who are prepared to look upon it in that light."

The right spirit did prevail, with few exceptions. The Commandant writes :

"We were a heterogeneous lot, different in nationality, character, political and religious outlook, education, even colour, but it was a great experience to see such different elements and temperaments live together in harmony for weeks and even months, sharing in a great common service At roll call, when all were present, I used to share with the volunteers whatever was causing us joy or anxiety. I lay great stress on their feeling that they are not merely workers but fellow-workers and, as such, as interested in the whole enterprise as are the leaders themselves. This strengthens mutual trust and on the basis of such trust it is not hard to maintain a voluntary yet strict discipline."

Or turn to what the volunteers wrote from "the Front" :

"Our field of work is immense. The best fields and lands of Lichtenstein have been turned into a dreary desert of sand and stones A day's work of nine hours

brings us together as friends. The work consists chiefly in carting off rubbish till good soil is reached; then the peasants can begin to plough so that there may still be a harvest for this year Our dining-room is the village hall. We sleep on straw sacks on the floor and in the gallery, also in the school house Every room is a little League of Nations . . . Hardly anywhere else could there be such a good opportunity of talking with people from different parts of the world of all that lies on one's heart. But still better and more satisfying is the working together which not only forges links among the volunteers and between these and the people of Lichtenstein, but will eventually do so between the nations." "The youngest volunteer is 16 and the oldest 69. A gay and friendly spirit and great keenness on the work prevails." "We have all come here to help, whether intellectuals, clerks or artisans. This Civilian Service is to show that we must, and can, *all* work together in the disinterested service of a small people."

In the Lichtenstein experiment a good beginning has been made and valuable experience gained for future international service, but, in the opinion of the leaders, considerable improvements could, and should, be introduced into the organisation at almost every point.

A MORAL EQUIVALENT FOR WAR

"In 1095 Peter the Hermit said of the Crusade to which he called volunteers, 'God wills it!' He enrolled for War and the aim was to recover a tomb. Let us *say* nothing, but let us enrol men for Peace and set ourselves to recapture a spirit. If all work faithfully, we shall succeed."

Such gallant, simple, severe, practical and unselfish service satisfies the human thirst for adventure, so often quenched only by war. It supplies war's moral equivalent in hard work and discipline. If we would win the victory over war we must rob it of its best and no longer leave to it the monopoly of costly service and sacrifice. Disinterested help to neighbouring lands in distress would make war between those nations inconceivable and, if widely adopted, the day would soon dawn when the armies of the future would exist to render such service alone.

CONSCIENTIOUS AFFIRMATION

"The assertion of the right of the individual to refuse obedience to the State, even in the emergency of war, or to lay down limits to which his obedience must be confined is the essence of conscientious objection. It is a practical affirmation that, under certain circumstances, civil disobedience may even become a duty for which men will dare to suffer."

Norman Thomas.

"To deny the authority of a man's conscience is to deprive him of his moral personality."

John W. Graham.

AT first sight such a course of action as is suggested by the term "conscientious objector" seems wholly negative. When war is declared, all that is best in a true peacemaker yearns for service and sacrifice; constructive service when all round seems destructive; sacrifice, if different in kind at least equal in degree to that of his brother in the trenches. Risking life to save—and to save friend or foe without distinction—this is what he would gladly do. Mere protest leaves him unsatisfied.

The value of a negative protest must not be minimised but the Christian pacifist regards himself rather as a conscientious projector. In New Testament days there were men who stood out for liberty of conscience, declaring: "We must obey God rather than men." Their "We cannot" was no mere negative but the strong affirmation of men who were willing to take the consequences of their refusal, and the same holds good to-day. It was for liberty as well as for human brotherhood that the conscientious objector took his stand; for the spiritual liberty of the individual, not the doubtful national liberty for which most wars are waged. He was far more aware than the onlooker that his tiny candle flame was smoky and flickering, but he knew also that it was his duty to keep it alight. He held on, not to save his own soul or just to obstruct the war machine—though there was a case for that—but to show the light. Unless some peacemakers stand out, war will go on. Until men dare, in war-time as in peace, personally to stand against war in all its manifestations, it will continue to crush and maim and enslave men and nations.

Since conscience is an individual thing, the protest cannot be uniform. Some men are ready to do anything short of taking life; they will enter the army and shoot in the air. Some feel able to work in a non-combatant corps; others draw the line at

handling munitions. It is the experience of many that, in caring for the sick and wounded at personal risk, they have found deep satisfaction. Some can accept alternative service at the hands of the Government, believing that a great national need constitutes for the time being a divine call, and that "legal compulsion, though denying an unrestricted choice of work, does not destroy obligations to serve within the limits of the choice allowed."^{*} Others, in accepting work judged by a Government at war as "of national importance" see in that acceptance complicity with the war machine, even if the work be in itself useful and innocent. The problem is far from simple. To minister to friend and foe alike is not easy under war conditions. The alternative service allotted to conscientious objectors is too often unreal and futile. The "absolutist" is not necessarily unreasonable nor the "alternativist" who accepts Government service necessarily less sincere. The man who serves in the ambulance unit sends the man he saves back again to the Front to suffer—and to inflict—like injuries, yet in itself it is Christlike ministry. The man willing to work on the land or in the school sets another free to do what he himself abhors; yet, by his service, he may be helping the innocent victims of war. None of us can be clear of guilt or have our hands clean. There is a point at which logic breaks down and consistency reduces life to absurdity but, for all that, each man must face and follow the dictates of his conscience and think out what for him, in time of war, is honourable and loyal service of his country and of humanity. For some—and not the least noble—no course is open but absolute refusal. There he stands and can do no other.

CONDITIONS OF MILITARY SERVICE IN DIFFERENT LANDS

The whole question varies with existing conditions of military service and so the problem presents itself in a different way in each country.[†]

In Anglo-Saxon lands, where there is a long tradition of liberty and usually some knowledge of and respect for the Quaker view, it is natural that conscription should arouse more opposition and conscientious objectors be more numerous. There are other countries where such traditions are unknown and where any personal refusal is infinitely harder. It is a terrible thing for a man who loves his country and rightly loves life to face exile, or

* Memorandum on industrial conscription. British F.O.R. Conscription Committee, February, 1917.

† Cf. Bibliography, especially the books on Conscription by J. W. Graham, Norman Thomas and W. J. Chamberlain.

deprivation of civil rights, or life-long imprisonment. The deep faith and loyalty of some of those who have suffered for their faith in such lands is all the more remarkable, perhaps especially in the case of "unlearned and ignorant men" who nevertheless have based their refusal on an unshakable spiritual experience. Six European countries—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Holland and, in a measure Russia—have now State alternative service, but even there some cannot fall in with it and continue to be sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

In GREAT BRITAIN conscription became operative in March, 1916, and provided for the exemption of conscientious objectors and for the setting up of tribunals to test the sincerity of the applicants—a delicate task for which the majority of those serving were quite unfitted. So far as can be ascertained about 16,000 men refused to take up arms because of their conscientious objection to war. Of these nearly 5,000 accepted alternative service of various kinds, 3,300 joined the Non-Combatant Corps, 1,200 worked in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and about 100 joined the Royal Army Medical Corps. But over 6,000 were refused exemption by the tribunals, court-martialled and sent to prison. Of that number some accepted later the Home Office scheme—a form of alternative service under penal conditions—but 1,500 refused any kind of alternative service and chose to remain in prison until released at the conclusion of the war or because their health broke down. Nearly 900 served sentences of two years or more. Ten died in prison, and 63 after release; 31 lost their reason as the result of their experiences. The most outstanding instance of the early attempts to break down resistance was the dispatch of a number of objectors to France, where, according to military law, they were liable to be shot for refusing to obey orders on active service. Thirty-four death sentences were actually pronounced and would have been carried out but for influential interference when the matter was brought to light. After the No Conscription Fellowship had exposed cases of gross ill-treatment a courteous attitude was fairly uniform. In spite of an influential memorial for their release presented in January, 1919, and signed by representative men in all departments—bishops, labour leaders, professors—etc., there were in September, 1919, 1,359 still in prison, while 147 received further sentences after Armistice Day.

Of the over 1,600 members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Britain who were of military age about one-third were not called up for occupational or medical reasons and about 1,000 came before tribunals. Of these, a few received absolute exemption, some 200 alternative service they could accept, and another 200 went to France—128 joining the Friends' Ambulance Unit, 10 working

with the Friends' War Victims and 15 under the Y.M.C.A., while 43 joined the R.A.M.C. or Non-Combatant Corps. The remaining 619 went to prison. Of these 400 were later drafted into the Home Office scheme after varying terms of imprisonment. But, in April, 1919, 178 were still in prison and others had been released earlier only on medical grounds. Besides this personal witness, the Fellowship was from the beginning concerned in various ways with helping the conscientious objector as described in a previous chapter.*

In AMERICA conscription was introduced in June, 1917, immediately after her entry into the war. By that time opinion had already hardened which was one reason for the comparatively small number of objectors. Of the 65,000 registered as claiming exemption on various grounds, only 4,000 persisted in their claim for exemption from military service, both combatant and non-combatant. Of the 4,000, 1,300 accepted by degrees non-combatant service; 1,200 took farm work; 100 were allowed to join the War Victims' Relief work in France; 500 were court-martialled and sentenced to imprisonment. The remainder were still in camp when the Armistice was signed. By the summer of 1918 every important army camp had its separated group of objectors. Their treatment varied between leniency and brutality. The alternative service offered was more sincere and worth while than in England, but, for the absolutist, sentences, though afterwards commuted, were incredibly severe. Of 500 sentenced up to June, 1917, 142 sentences were for life and 159 for 20 years and upwards! Many belonged to sects such as the Mennonites, Molokars and Dunkards, who had originally left Europe because of persecution for their pacifist faith. While no movement like the No Conscription Fellowship in England arose to rally conscientious objectors, both religious and socialist, their legal rights were safeguarded by the Civil Liberties Bureau. The American witness was largely made by individuals, nor did intellectual and labour leaders, not themselves pacifists, raise their voice on behalf of fair treatment. Not till 1920 were the last conscientious objectors released.

AUSTRALIA has stood out against conscription. Attempts to introduce it by appeal to a referendum failed in 1916 and 1917. NEW ZEALAND introduced it in 1916, and there the course of events was much as in Great Britain, with 2,500 conscientious objectors and between 300 and 400 men, including F.O.R. members, imprisoned for refusing all war service. Since 1909, in New Zealand and even earlier in Australia, military training for boys from the age of 14 upwards has been compulsory in both countries, and continuous protests have been made. There have been a

* Cf. page 5.

number of prosecutions in New Zealand for refusing military drill.

In CANADA, where conscription was introduced in 1917 with exemption from combatant service only, some resisted and were imprisoned. While military training is not compulsory in Canada, the number of young cadets is rapidly increasing and the militarisation of youth is a real danger in all these new countries.

In SCANDINAVIA alternative service—afforestation, road-making, farmhouse-building, etc.—is available, but those who cannot conscientiously take advantage of it are imprisoned. The duration of civilian service is purposely longer than military service. Alternative service was introduced in Denmark in 1917, in Sweden in 1920, in Norway in 1922. A considerable and increasing number claim exemption each year.

HOLLAND has a long tradition of struggle for liberty of conscience, dating back to the sixteenth century. Dutch conscientious objectors are mostly absolutists and, since the war, about 1,000—chiefly pacifist anarchists, Mennonites and Quakers—have refused military service. Since 1923 alternative service obtains in Holland but a large number serve a year's sentence of imprisonment instead. CZECHOSLOVAKIA has also a pacifist strain in its history but, like the other newly-reorganised States in Eastern Europe, has conscription, and has not yet adopted alternative service, though public opinion is being awakened to meet its need. Many go to prison for two or more years. SWITZERLAND has petitioned—unsuccessfully—for alternative service, besides demonstrating to the value of constructive service by its voluntary *Service Civil* already described (Chapter VII.) and has many absolutist conscientious objectors.

In HUNGARY, ROUMANIA and JUGOSLAVIA large numbers of Nazarenes and members of other sects have suffered imprisonment and even death. Many continue to be arrested and given long sentences. In BULGARIA many suffered for their opinions during the war. Since conscription has been abolished the number of pacifist objectors has steadily increased. In POLAND certain religious sects are exempt.

In RUSSIA as early as 1911 the question of exemption for conscientious objectors came up in the Duma. During the war about 1,000 refused to fight—some on conscientious grounds—and were imprisoned, the sentences increasing in severity as the war advanced. At the revolution they were set free, but with the recruiting of the "Red" army the whole question was raised again, and many are in prison to-day for refusal to serve in it. Under the Soviet regime the treatment of conscientious objectors has differed widely in different districts, some being released or offered alternative service, others imprisoned or shot as counter-revolutionaries or deserters. A unique feature was the

appointment under Lenin of a Council of Religious Groups acting as a tribunal under the leadership of V. G. Tchertkoff, a leading Tolstoyan. It functioned from 1919 to 1921. Exemption is now granted only to those who can prove that before the Revolution they were members of a religious body which included objection to war in its articles of belief. Tolstoyans are not considered by the Government to come under this category, and intellectuals generally have considerable difficulty in obtaining exemption.

In SPAIN and ITALY conscription is hated and many seek to escape from it by emigration or desertion. In BELGIUM war resistance is growing, especially among ex-service men. In FRANCE the whole mentality and training of the people is national rather than individual and severe penalties have made refusal till recently almost unthinkable. The number of those taking the stand is increasing.

In AUSTRIA a considerable number of anarchists and Christian communists were united in an anti-militarist federation and many were imprisoned. Conscientious objection is on the increase. GERMANY, although there is now no conscript army, has inherited its tradition and accepts only slowly the idea of personal refusal. During the war conscientious objectors were offered non-combatant service, and in case of refusal were often certified insane and sent to an asylum. Besides socialists and members of various sects there were hundreds of isolated cases of intellectuals who refused for reasons of conscience.

HAS CONSCIENTIOUS AFFIRMATION BEEN EFFECTIVE?

In conclusion, every report about conscientious objectors can only be fragmentary, but enough is known to prove the existence of a large and growing body.

This brief review shows that "conscientious affirmation" has not been in vain. It has forced on Governments the necessity of making provision for the exemption of men unable conscientiously to take part in the military machine. It has brought about the introduction of alternative service in several European countries. It has called out from many nations an army whose influence will be far-reaching in any future war—many of these are united in the War Resisters' International which links together all objectors. It has given men an opportunity to witness publicly to the faith that is in them—be it humanitarian, Socialist or Christian. The steady faithfulness of those who have made their refusal has done much to alter public opinion. The conscientious objector was discovered in most cases to be neither a shirker nor a coward; the man who refused military service could, and did, honour his

comrade in the army. Each could respect the courage of the other. The testimony of Mr. Tennant—British Under-Secretary for War in 1916—may be quoted: “I would like to say on my own behalf that, while the conscientious objector has not made my path easier, and is not likely to do so, I cannot withhold my respect for persons who on religious grounds will undergo privation and even persecution rather than do violence to their conscience.” Where the conscientious objector failed through self-centredness or what seemed spiritual pride we might say with Clifford Allen: “Of our friends I would ask that they would let their imagination help them to understand the strained and anxious psychology of young men—potential conscripts—aggressively on their defence in a world of enemies. Of our fellow countrymen who once hated us, I would beg that they would believe us when we say we acted as we did because we loved our country.”

From the point of view of the International Fellowship such witness, in all its variety, is an essential part of its message. The challenge is one which faces all its members. Many have responded to that challenge. Its leaders are to be found in the van of the movement for conscientious objection in every land. Yet not *all* its members in European countries are themselves able fully as yet to take this personal stand. Some are sincerely reluctant to say now what they would do if war came—there was a certain son who said: “I go, sir,” and went not. Others are honestly perplexed. But all believe it is the ideal to be aimed at; all are committed, and desire to be committed, to a body which takes this stand.

Chapter IX

IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FIELD: THEORY AND EXPERIMENT

AT the outset let it be frankly acknowledged that as yet no clear light has come to the members of this Fellowship as to a common line of action in this realm comparable to the stand taken by the conscientious objector in war, nor have they arrived at a united policy as to whether it is better to leave all, or to be God's steward of a trust; to live a simple life of dependence upon God and one's fellows, or—with perhaps equal faith—to earn one's own living; to endeavour to detach oneself from "the system" in some community of kindred souls, or to try to revolutionise it from within. Somewhere there must be room for all these diverse conceptions. They know that at the heart of the social gospel is the infinite worth and variety of every human soul and that from this must follow a new attitude to the worker and to property. They know, too, that they are very far from being utterly possessed by the spirit of Him who, being rich, became poor and who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

VARIETY OF EXPERIMENT

This perplexity in matters of theory has not prevented practical experiments in a new social order, nor attempts within existing conditions to bring in a greater degree of mutual understanding and goodwill. For instance, a member who had served two years' imprisonment for his pacifist convictions conceived the idea* of bringing together employers and employed in the Building Trade of Great Britain into a common Council of the Industry—a plan later adopted by a number of Trades' Unions and Employers' Federations. The experiment called out a deep response and led to the formation of the first Builders' Guild which, with its astonishing appeal to service, not gain, marked an advance in industrial development. Its originator maintained that such a Guild, binding the workers of all ranks together by constructive goodwill and looking on the industry as a great public service, could—and would—revolutionise the industrial system from within. During a railway strike in 1919, a statement was prepared by another member to be signed by shareholders to the effect that they wished publicly to state their conviction that the claims of

* An idea from which came the "Whitley Councils."

the worker to such wages as made possible a full and free life came before the claims of shareholders to dividends, that they would support reorganisation of the present industrial system in this direction, and were prepared to accept whatever loss resulted. This statement, which was widely circulated, made a deep impression on many of the men on strike as an unexpected gesture.

Towards the close of a long lock-out, a serious situation faced the inhabitants of a certain mining town. The reopening of the old collieries on which the life of the town depended seemed impossible as, owing to flooding, they had become too costly to work. The Company, failing to find a purchaser, were about to dismantle and abandon the collieries when a minister-member of the Fellowship, deeply concerned at the threatened disaster, approached the leading capitalist in the district and appealed to him, on grounds of sheer humanity, to save the town by finding new capital and re-opening as an act of faith in his fellows. A well-known Communist leader, risking his own reputation with his party, supported the venture and the situation was saved. The method of personal appeal and personal venture was again justified.

AMONG STRIKERS

During the long continued coal dispute in England in 1926 and the consequent economic distress, help of various kinds was given not only in relief but in the setting up of small industries for unemployed men, in arranging for lectures and classes, and in links of helpful friendship formed between groups and Christian congregations, within and without the affected area. During the general strike which followed, leaders of the Fellowship were in close touch with responsible persons on both sides, keeping abreast of events and ready to mediate personally if opportunity offered. Where possible, opportunities of mediation in strikes have been taken, using the "direct method" of trying to understand not only both points of view but the human personalities behind each in the actual dispute. Soon after the war a strike among textile workers broke out in America. The workers had very serious grievances and feeling ran high. Three members of the Fellowship—ministers who had lost their churches because of pacifist views, were on the scene and worked for weeks providing help and leadership to the strikers. They were instrumental in reducing violence to a minimum in spite of the fact that nearly 30,000 workers and their families, representing over 20 different nationalities, were involved, and the authorities wantonly sought to provoke strikers to violence. They also helped in bringing about negotiations leading to a settlement. A number of grievances

were remedied, hours were reduced from 54 to 48 per week, an increase in wages was given, and the general spirit at the close of the strike was such that there seemed an opportunity for putting relations between workers and management on a more stable and satisfactory basis than had ever previously existed in the industry. But mediation in a strike presupposes sympathetic fellowship in ordinary circumstances. In the present prevalence of unemployment and distress among the miners in England and Wales, members of the Fellowship are found both among those who suffer and those who give themselves to brotherly help on their behalf—the two are not necessarily separated functions! One member who has started, with the co-operation of unemployed miners, a Community House in a certain mining valley, has only been able to do so because through respect, understanding and sympathy he had won their confidence.

WORKERS' SETTLEMENTS

In Berlin the work of the Fellowship centres largely round a Settlement, the headquarters of a movement among working men throughout Germany. The same is true in Stockholm. In a London Settlement a group of members carry on many-sided work and, aware that at first those coming from the outside cannot fully enter into the point of view of the worker, steadily alter their ways of working as they gain fresh insight. In France those bearing most responsibility are men who have voluntarily settled as pastors in industrial areas and from the depth of their experience can speak of poverty and social problems. A long list could, of course, be made of ministers who have quietly stayed on in dreary districts to share their people's burden, but Fellowship members are not alone in such action, though many would acknowledge that it is largely to the Fellowship that they owe this determination.

A CRUSADE AMONG UNEMPLOYED DOCK LABOURERS

Sometimes special work is undertaken by a group on a larger scale. For example, a crusade on "The Way to Social Peace" was held in 1927 for a fortnight in Liverpool. There were meetings in churches, open-air meetings for unemployed men at the docks, and public meetings at the University Settlement. Groups of from fifty to a hundred and fifty men would stand in the open air for two or three hours day after day listening to speakers who were learning to understand their point of view, while initial suspicion was being broken down and friendly relations achieved.

At the public meetings, Conservatives, Socialists, Liberals, Communists, employers, ministers, and teachers of economics, all gave their views, as contributions to a common pool of thought, on ways to social peace. The meeting each night ended with an independent criticism, endeavouring to point out how far the different views could be combined, and at what points they were fundamentally at variance. All the burning political and economic questions were discussed with the utmost frankness. The open-air meetings have been continued and for more than a year a group of from twenty to fifty men have been meeting in a coffee-house at the docks for lectures and discussions on economics, psychology, history, religion and other subjects. The prevailing view of the group was strongly Communist, but a number are coming to accept a spiritual view of life and to believe in the possibilities of the method of reconciliation. Discussions have taken place on the problem of casual labour and a number of suggestions have been made. In Glasgow a campaign on social peace has been held under the auspices of a group of twenty churches, prepared for by ministers who have been meeting to study economic questions and to face the difficulties involved in attempting to establish fellowship between the churches and the non-church or anti-church workers, and in conducting discussions of difficult current questions of politics and economics, in a constructive and Christian way, between people of widely varied and opposed views.

WITHIN THE EXISTING ORDER

Sometimes a group—as frequently happens in Germany or Austria—come together in some new experiment in communal life and work; sometimes reconciling work is done within the existing order. In a German factory a member was the only Christian pacifist on a representative worker's council where the rest were Communists, yet was chosen to be their leader and spokesman. It may be safely said that in no country is the international pacifist witness of the Fellowship carried on apart from social experiments and service, and this is a sound position, for the two are one in their roots. By means of all these humble, practical ways, light on theory will grow clearer.

SEEKING LIGHT

But while unity is not yet reached, the question, of what the principles of the Fellowship involve in the social order has not been shelved. At various conferences, particularly at Nyborg and Bad-Boll, it was given long and serious discussion. Each

year the industrial problem looms larger before the Christian conscience. The next general International Conference at Lyons in August, is to be entirely devoted to the subject, "Christ and the Class Struggle." Scattered groups and individuals among the younger attenders at camps and conferences are making a study of social evils and their remedies in a series of questions and readings planned to bring the problem out of the realm of theory into terms of one's own neighbourhood and experience. Some see a solution in the transference of control from shareholders to the Government; others, in transferring more control to the workers. There is a growing conviction that, since labour has inevitably to share through unemployment in the losses of industry, it should also share in its gains; that increased wages are not enough; that labour should both contribute to capital and share control and should therefore be educated for responsibility. But no such outward change will in itself avail. "Industrial peace must arise as the inevitable by-product of mutual confidence, real justice and constructive goodwill."*

"We believe it is our Father's will that the present social order—or rather disorder—should cease Jesus came so that His fettered brethren, rich and poor alike, might be set free and find one another under God's free heaven, that they might carry on their work as service to one another and as fellow-labourers with God, that they might earn their daily bread without anxiety and taste the joy of living." So ran a message from one of the earlier international conferences. Here again affirmation must become passionate conviction, and conviction be expressed in new and demanding service.

MEDIATION IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

Another field of exploration is the political sphere, and here also attempts have been made to bring about mediation. Two will suffice—one in Ireland, the other in Central America.

During the tension between England and Ireland which preceded the signature of the treaty establishing the Irish Free State, the "direct action" of a few men and women who got into close personal touch with the leaders on both sides had much to do with establishing mutual trust. Without such trust it would have been impossible to come to terms. To arrive at this meant long and patient work and the determination to understand the difficulties of both parties and to see the best in both. This was not the official action of any body but members of the Fellowship were among those who took part in its initiation and carrying through.

* Memorandum by National Association of Building Trades' Council to National Federation of Building Trades' Employers, January, 1917.

The means used were personal only—the personal appeal to sincerity, generosity, and faith in the good faith of the other side.

The Mission of Friendship to Central America, undertaken in 1927 by the American Fellowship in conjunction with the American Friends' Service Committee, included an attempt to secure peace with justice between the Nicaraguan insurrectionist, Sandino, and the Washington Government. A group of four people composed the Mission, sailing from New Orleans in November and returning at the end of January, 1928, having visited Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama and Cuba. The two months' tour was fruitful in demonstrating the desire of groups in the States for relations of true fellowship and trust with the peoples of Latin America and in bringing individuals into touch with the Fellowship message. Public meetings were held and the Press gave conspicuous and favourable notice to the Mission. Friendly contact was established with various groups. The attempt to mediate between General Sandino of Nicaragua and the United States authorities by direct approach to him in his mountain stronghold was forbidden by the American authorities and the armed clashes which had been foreseen occurred. But strong representations made by the Mission on its return to Washington may have had some influence in the orders which were issued to the Marines about that time that there must be no bombing of Nicaraguan villages.

POLITICS BUT NOT PARTY METHODS

The day has gone by when it was thought that politics and religion should be kept strictly apart. Politics, in the sense of the right government and well-being of one's fellow citizens, are now acknowledged as the concern of every true Christian. It is another thing, however, to adopt the usual political methods with their party spirit and majority pressure. "A coercive victory which leaves unreconciled those affections which are the final and spiritual foundations of all rightly ordered societies of men is only the lumber of new scaffolding and leaves the foundations of real politics still to be laid."* A number of members of the Fellowship have stood for election to Parliament in different countries and some have been returned. In Germany, as in England, it has been proved that the election campaign can be conducted in no party spirit but made an opportunity for spreading ideas of truer brotherhood and justice. Some members have been able to further the cause of peace by their presence in Parliament and some have succeeded in carrying into an atmosphere of heated rivalry and partisanship that quietness and confidence which is strength. As in industrial strife, so here, the method

* *The Politics of Grace*, by George Davies.

most characteristic of the Fellowship would seem to be the bringing of opposing factors into friendly, personal touch. "There is one method of attack that does not induce resistance but calls forth immediate response and that is the appeal to the best instincts of the other side."*

WORK AMONG DELINQUENTS—PREVENTIVE AND REMEDIAL

It is natural that the Fellowship of Reconciliation should have a special concern for those whom Society finds hopeless or places as outcasts beyond the pale. Prison experiences led many conscientious objectors—and not less their friends and relatives—to realise in a new and more personal way the inhuman and deadening nature of much of our treatment of criminals. Work for prison reform followed, and movements for the betterment of prison methods and conditions and towards the abolition of capital punishment owe not a little to the efforts of Fellowship members.† Others work as probation officers or among discharged prisoners. Others, as in Sweden, throw themselves into the reform of laws bearing hardly on the weak and tempted. One invalid member collects hundreds of sketches of outdoor subjects which, with the approval of the Governors, are placed in prisons and Borstal institutions. Experiments for delinquents have been carried on in several countries; sometimes in a homely fashion by the receiving of such unsatisfactory folk into the warmth and friendliness of a private home or informal community; sometimes by the establishment of homes run on family lines for boys and girls who would otherwise land in prisons; sometimes by attempts to give to those who have already been in reformatories the chance of freer development. Two early experiments in England received sympathetic approval from the Home Office. The first was a colony at Riverside, where a dozen boys and girls committed from the juvenile courts found a home and the attempt was made, without resort to coercive measures, to train them for social life; the other was a Home for older girls at Fairby. Neither experiment could be carried on for long, yet a magistrate present at a reunion of Riverside old boys and girls with their Warden said, speaking from long experience, that he knew of no other "Reformatory School" from which the children would have gained so much in the time. Freedom and kindness, however, are not enough: such work calls for special grace and special

* *The Politics of Grace*, by George Davies.

† *English Prisons To-day*, by Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway—now out of print—and *Capital Punishment in the 20th Century* (Putnam, 3s. 6d.), by Roy Calvert, are books which have had, and are still having, a marked influence. Stephen Hobhouse and Roy Calvert are members of the Fellowship.

gifts. The challenge of the words in the foundation statement of the Fellowship that "Love is the only power by which evil can be overcome and the only sufficient basis of human society" has from the beginning confronted those members who are meeting the problem in its most acute form. It is work which tests the depth of our faith in the principles we hold.

One cannot touch on this subject without referring to one honoured member of the Fellowship, Mathilda Wrede of Finland, Friend of Prisoners, who for forty years gave herself to prisoners and outcasts and, by her trust and love, her courage and faith, her wit and resource, believed them into being the men and women God would have them be. "My friends" was how she always spoke of them. The more broken and outcast they were the more did her great heart warm to them. She evolved no new system, but she loved men and women out of darkness and rebellion into light and love. She gave herself to them—utterly. The legacy of her example is a great heritage.

Chapter X

LEAVEN WITHIN THE CHURCHES

ANOTHER field where recognition of the one human family needs to be lifted from theory into practice is within the Christian Church. Should the Fellowship itself be a church? This problem confronted its founders at a time when the Church was not friendly to those who held pacifist views. Yet it was always in the end answered in the negative. Not to be *a church* but to serve *the church*—visible and invisible—in all her members is the aim of the Fellowship. The truth for which it stands is the heritage of the Church of Christ, overlaid and forgotten sometimes yet still essentially at the heart of her message. So the members of the Fellowship, in so far as they are also members of the Church, work largely within her framework, using the opportunities that lie to hand in her many-sided organisations. To permeate these with a truer and more daring conception of peace seems to be their task. A change is coming over the attitude of church leaders. The uprising of anti-militarist unions of pastors is one indication. In Germany a prolonged tour among Lutheran pastors in Baden and Wurtemberg was undertaken in 1927 and gathered thoughtful and attentive groups. In the same year some 440 ministers and clergy joined the American Fellowship. In Great Britain conferences for ministers have frequently been held during the past ten years. About 400 are members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

MINISTERS' CONFERENCES ON THE CHURCH AND PEACE

A remarkable change has taken place, particularly in Anglo-Saxon lands, in the attitude of many ministers and clergy in the years since the war. Of most of those who are thinking deeply on the peace question, it may be said that their sympathies are now, on the whole, with the position of the pacifist, though their intellectual convictions still differ from his on certain points. Many ministers feel acutely that they have no clear Christian message on war and peace. Considerable numbers are adopting the Christian pacifist position in regard to war, but are only beginning to realise the great change in spirit and attitude throughout all life which that decision involves.

In this situation there is an obvious value in quiet, unhurried, and constructive discussion among men whose views still differ. Ministers' conferences, lasting for one or two days, are held in which some fifteen men are gathered, by personal invitation. The aim is to give an opportunity to those taking part to understand more fully one another's position, to find how far they are in agreement, to try and isolate the remaining points of disagreement and to understand the causes of these, especially those which lie deeper than intellectual argument and are part of an attitude to life and to God. The line of study which has so far been followed begins with a discussion of the causes and results of war in history—as a preliminary to an examination of the causes of modern war and of the varying convictions which obtain, such as that it is inevitable, or unnecessary, or futile. The next and most important stage of the discussion deals first with non-pacifist views—the now almost discarded idea that war is an instrument of God's justice and that men are bound to be His agents in punishing evil-doers through that means; and the contemporary view that, though war is not redemptive and is not, in that sense, Christian, yet the Christian must sometimes share in it because he cannot cut himself off from the historic development and the present moral level of the community to which he belongs. Loyalty to the State, the desire to share the lot of one's friends and further the inadverturousness and ineffectiveness—as it appears to them—of individual pacifist action, are real difficulties to many. But the full, Christian pacifist position which claims the whole of life for the spirit of love and redemption, is almost always heard with welcome and with increasing agreement. The conferences then proceed to examine the many practical forms of Christian service for peace, personal and political. There is a growing conviction that a new department of church education and missionary activity is called for—a department of international relations and service.

WITHIN THE ROMAN CHURCH

During the war opinion in favour of peace was steadily growing within the Roman Church. In 1921 the Fellowship came into touch with one of the groups concerned to reorganise society on a radical Christian basis, the "Weisses Kreuz," centred at Graz, Austria, working from within outwards through the "International Catholic League" for a more primitive and peacemaking conception of Christianity; in 1923, with a group of young Germans within the "Grossdeutsche" Catholic Youth Movement; in 1924, with leaders in the "Quickborn," another important Catholic Youth Group; also with friends in Marc Sangnier's movement in France, "La Jeune Republique," which, beginning

thirty years ago as "Le Sillon" with the aim of filling the new democratic ideas with Christian content, has grown rapidly, its annual congresses, numbering thousands, being open to all men of goodwill. Several of these friends have considerable influence within the Catholic Peace Movement.

To-day in the Roman Catholic Church there is a marked advance towards the more pacifist interpretation of the first centuries as to Christian duty in regard to war. There are also a number of religious organisations, working by prayer and self-denial, for the peace of the world and the reunion of Christendom. There is, for example, the "Eucharistic Peace Sunday," instituted by Abbé Démulier of France and the late Abbé Jocham of Germany. On the first Sunday of the month the German members of this Union pray for the French nation when receiving Holy Communion, the French members in their turn praying for the German people. This Peace Sunday has been extended to Poland and has gained over 1,200 adherents within a year. Other international bodies working for peace within the Roman Catholic Church are the "Katholische Weltjugendliga" and the "Pax Romana." Within the next decade both theory and practice may be expected to become more radical. An increasing number, even now, stand for a radical solution not only of the question of war and peace but of social problems as a whole.

WORKING TOGETHER

Within the Fellowship friends from different churches and religious communities have been able from the outset to work together—friends from the Orthodox and Roman churches as well as members of the most varied Protestant communities. The Roman Catholic workers referred to above have taken an active part through conferences and lecture tours in Germany, Belgium and Poland. Their help has been particularly valuable in promoting mutual understanding between Frenchmen and Germans, and more recently between Germans and Poles. Roman Catholic friends of the Fellowship have also met apart to discuss their own problems in relation to the radical peace position. Such a conference took place at Clerf, in Luxemburg, in 1926, and a reconciliation group of German and Polish Catholics met at Witsuntide, 1929, in Berlin. With the development of work in the Balkans closer touch with friends in the Orthodox Church is anticipated.

A CHRISTIAN BASIS BUT NO FRONTIERS.

Beyond the company of those within the Christian Church there are many with whom we desire fuller understanding, and we welcome all opportunities of common, practical service.

"Our Movement must be a movement of the laity in spirit and in form ; its creed should grow out of living and doing rather than be too early formulated in set phrases. Fellowship with God can, in any case, be only very inadequately expressed in words and terms, and a man who does not confess Christ may be nearer to God than one who publicly confesses Him. Our Christian faith is not a wall to shut us in and shut others out."^{*} There are those within the Fellowship of Reconciliation who follow along the way of Jesus but who cannot call themselves Christians—often because of the worldliness of the Church, or the hardness of its individual members. We welcome them as our brothers and fellow-workers. The Kingdom of God is wider than the limits of any Church. The Father of Jesus is the Father of us all : the spirit of Jesus dwells in and inspires those also who do not outwardly confess His Name.

Yet we will not bring nearer to our fellows the truth we have in part seen by obscuring or hiding its source in the great reality which we know as Christ. Through Jesus every man is in a special sense a brother, in Him is the rallying-point of humanity and the hope for the redemption of the world. That—for most—is the core of their faith. Some might express themselves more generally and in other terms. Nevertheless, the conviction—difficult to state—which gives our Fellowship reality and definiteness is : that we seek not only spiritual values, but known spiritual values ; love, not in general, but love in terms of the person of Jesus ; sacrifice, not as abstract ethic, but in terms of the Cross. "What we are aiming at cannot be placed upon a weak foundation, or our cause will have neither stability nor permanence ; those to whom this foundation does not now seem necessary may later find that they have missed something essential."^{*} We earnestly desire the co-operation and fellowship of all who seek the same goal. Together, by the guidance of the one Spirit, we may progress further towards truth.

"God is not behind us, He is ahead, like the Star of Bethlehem, and we must advance with Him."[†]

* Leonhard Ragaz, on the basis of the Movement.

† Romain Rolland, in a letter to the General Secretary.

Cf. "The Religious Basis of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation," a Statement sent out from the Conference at Bad-Boll, 1924. Each national unit is free to express the basis of the Fellowship in its own words.

Chapter XI

THE INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP AND ITS NATIONAL UNITS

THERE are some twenty-four countries represented within the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and each country has its own problems. "International work" does not mean merely helping Frenchmen and Germans, or Bulgarians and Roumanians, to be friendly with each other. It *does* stand for that, but it goes far deeper. It means helping men and women in all nations to meet the complex problems of to-day as these affect their social and personal life—problems of Government and industry and morals, problems arising not only from international war but from revolution and strikes, and the breakdown of nominal Christianity. There is no one theory of social reconstruction to which all are committed: the Movement is concerned rather to inspire and embody ideals and to be the uniting bond between varied groups in different countries. In some cases National Movements or Branches of the Fellowship have been formed; in others, some already existing Society serves the purpose.

From the beginning the organisation, though carefully thought out, has been of the slightest. A Council of some twelve or fifteen representatives from different countries meeting usually once or twice a year; a Secretary, with a colleague or assistant and a small office staff, have been all it has relied on for continuity and guidance. National Movements elect their own members to the Council while the choice of representatives where the work is not yet fully organised is in the hands of the Secretariat. An Executive carries on between the Council meetings, but decisions involving matters of principle or policy are referred to the Council. Personal links are kept up from the Centre through correspondence in three or four languages, through the circulation of occasional memoranda and information, and through an International News Sheet appearing monthly. Scattered members in lands where no groups exist are transferred as a national movement arises.

The Fellowship is, in essence and practice, international and its leadership is an international fellowship in miniature. As its conferences have met in different countries, so also the Secretariat is not permanently located at any one centre. Its first home was in Holland. In July, 1921, when Oliver Dryer replaced Cornelis Boeke as General Secretary—a post which he filled for

the next seven years—it moved to London. Now, in order to be nearer "the Front," it has been transferred to Vienna.

Formal tests of membership have never been enforced, but much careful thought has been given at different conferences and council meetings to what constitutes the basis of the Movement.* The members find their real unity, however, not in any dogmatic statement but in the recognition of the authority of the spirit of Jesus in their inner consciousness and in their acceptance of Love as seen in Him, as the basis for all life and the only power by which evil can be overcome.

LIFE, NOT UNIFORMITY

As the visible expression of the Movement varies with each country, so do the methods employed. Open-air discussions on social and religious problems with groups of unemployed men in dock areas have, for instance, proved a means of approach in London and Liverpool, but such methods would seem strange and foreign in most Continental lands where the printed page and the indoors discussion carry more weight. Racial antagonisms and cleavages within a country present, again, a totally different problem from antagonisms between late enemies. Political feeling accentuates these in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe to a degree hardly understood in the North and West. A social evening to which members of opposed political factions or of different racial or religious elements are invited may be a quite simple, social function in one country, and a triumph of faith and reconciliation in another.

A glance at the work in the different countries reveals that variety which is a sign of life. In Sweden, the national embodiment is a Christian Social Union; in Norway, the work centres round a peace journal; in Denmark, there is the International Folk High School; in Finland, Estonia and Latvia, little groups work largely as individuals but with a growing sense of unity in the one family. In France, after some years of preparatory work, a movement is emerging; in Germany, the widely scattered groups are being linked up by a national secretary; in Holland, a new peace movement in the churches is replacing the former Brotherhood as an organ of peace action; in Switzerland, the Peace Centre is closely in touch with, though not an integral part of, this Movement; in Austria, there is special work among children; in Czechoslovakia, the main work is in promoting inter-racial friendship; in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, the great need is for Centres whence work for reconciliation can radiate.

* Cf. pp. 2 and 50.

In Great Britain and America the Fellowships are larger and longer established and their experience in both war and peace years, as well as their tradition of religious liberty and particularly the part played by the Quaker community, has been a strength to lands less fortunately placed. In the Orient, Japan and China have small but definite movements; in India there are as yet only scattered members.

IN THE FAR NORTH.

NORWAY

Towards the end of the Great War a growing discontent with the whole system of war was noticeable in many circles. This was due not only to the damage done to Norwegian shipping and the loss of life caused by the U-boat warfare and to the hardships imposed on the civil population through restrictions upon imports forced by the Entente Powers, but also to the fact that the war gradually showed its true face of cruelty. A few people here and there had come into contact with Quakers through Woodbrooke Training College or otherwise and, at the end of the war, a Quaker Message to all men of goodwill was widely circulated in the Press. So it seemed natural that, when one of the earliest friends of the Movement, Ole Olden, a High School master, proposed that Norway should give up any claim upon Germany for damage done by the U-boat warfare, this proposal should be widely discussed, both in the Religious Press and in the Students' Unions. As a result, the claim was given up, though not entirely dropped, since Germany promised to pay a certain amount to the most needy relatives of the sailors killed. (About 6,000,000 kr. has now been paid.)

Verden Venter,* a monthly magazine edited by three High School masters, is the main channel through which the ideals of the Fellowship, both in its social and international aspects, are propagated. Its circulation is about 1,400. Interest in peace work has been stimulated by the recent appeal for voluntary civilian service in Lichtenstein, to which more than thirty responded, though only eight could finally be sent. A formal branch of the Fellowship has not been formed in Norway, because its ideas found a ready soil in the local peace movement at Stavanger, which has so influenced the national Peace Union that the latter has now expressed its position against war as follows: "The Union expects from its members that they will not take part in war nor in its preparation." Quite recently, during the winter

* *The Waiting World*.

of 1928-9, there has been a marked revival of peace activity resulting in several new, local, peace societies. In Stavanger a strong Youth Group has been formed with 50 members and well-attended weekly meetings.

SWEDEN

In Sweden the International Fellowship is represented by the League for Christian Citizenship—*Förbundet för Kristet Samhällsliv*—which was founded in 1918 and affiliated in 1921. The League numbers 685 members. There are seven local groups, but many of the members are isolated, being drawn from all over the country. Within the groups the members meet more or less regularly, and a three days' conference takes place annually. Lectures are held in different places. Pamphlets are published and a monthly—*Kristet Samhällsliv*—is issued. The League stands on a firm Christian basis, takes a radical peace position, and works for far-reaching social reforms. Its Programme—revised from time to time—expresses its position towards international, internal-political, economic and religious questions, as also towards education and social relief work. The leaders and most of the members take a radical pacifist position. Not a few male members are conscientious objectors. The League has sent to the Government and to the Parliamentary Commission for Defence petitions for the abolition of conscription, and has also presented to the Government a detailed report with definite proposals as to the laws concerning vagrancy and prostitution. The Stockholm group has asked the city authorities for better arrangements with regard to housing and support for the unemployed, and measures in this direction have been taken. A circular as to the position of the church with regard to war and preparation for war has been sent out to all the pastors of the State Church and the Free Churches. The secretary of the League has published for the clerical meeting in his diocese a volume on the Church and the Labour Movement. The settlement of Birkagaden in Stockholm works in connection with the League. Its various lines of work—especially the Folk High School—reach circles of working men and women of different political parties—Socialist, Communist, Syndicalist and Anarchist. Individual members of the League take part in efforts to bring together in conference groups of different interests and different views, in order to promote greater mutual understanding and, where possible, practical co-operation.

In August, 1927, the Swedish Movement invited to its ninth meeting at Nyköping delegates from Denmark, Norway, Finland,

Esthonia and Latvia, the main topic being "The Christian and the State." This conference did much to dispel misunderstanding as, in Swedish political circles, pacifism and social reform are thought to arise from a superficial view of life not facing reality while, in some religious groups, it is thought that social Christianity means outward activity with a lack of the inward essentials.

Within the Swedish Movement closer relations are desired with Russia, Finland and other neighbouring lands. The Swedish Movement helps the new and struggling movements in Esthonia and Latvia; it has borne the chief burden of the Armenian Colony, of which mention is made elsewhere, and it has always taken a special interest in, and given substantial support to, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The President of the League, Dr. Natanael Beskow, is the representative of Sweden on the Council of the International Fellowship, and has throughout been its valued friend and counsellor.

DENMARK

The "Christian Peace Society"—*Kristeligt Fredsforbund*—is a radical group founded in 1913 by Holgar Larsen, a librarian who had for a long time keenly felt the attitude of the Church towards war. At first few understood his aims, but during the war interest increased and the membership rose to three or four hundred, though later, as war strain relaxed, interest in peace work lessened also. The question of disarmament continued to arouse interest, and the reception of large numbers of children from Central Europe in the years after the war had a good effect. Holgar Larsen had been in touch with the British Fellowship before 1919, and the first Bilthoven Conference came as a great encouragement to the Danish workers, as also visits from leaders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in other lands—especially Henry Hodgkin, whose visit in 1920 is still remembered. Among students and in the Student Christian Movement there has been some considerable interest, but the Barthian Movement, which at present influences some of the best students, keeps outside social and political questions. The emphasis on social as well as international peace gained from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation has deepened the work, but has also proved a certain barrier in approach to religious circles who prefer to work through the less radical World Alliance with which, however, the Christian Peace Society co-operates to some extent. Religious movements influencing youth—including the Folk High School Movement initiated by Bishop Grundtvig, which is a great force among the people—are somewhat nationalistic. At the International Folk High School at Elsinore, however, Peter Manniche, one of the

earliest Danish members, carries on valuable work for international understanding. The monthly paper, *Freds-Varden*,* and occasional meetings, church services and study circles maintain interest. A number of younger ministers are conscientious objectors. Money was raised during the Russian famine and, in 1928, 30 volunteers were enlisted for voluntary civilian service at Lichtenstein. The Christian Peace Society keeps in close touch with the International Fellowship. Fru Kirsten Svelmoe-Thomsen has represented Denmark on the Council from the beginning.

FINLAND.

Finland was for long years the subject State of Czarist Russia, but while the political power was Russian, her culture was West-European. In the middle of last century there was a revival of Finnish folk-lore and language, and to-day Finnish is the official language of the Republic, which was founded in 1920. In the struggle against Russia for political recognition Swedes and Finns in Finland were united. In spite of present difficulties, the best elements in both groups hope for a lasting unity in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect.

Finland has had her great apostle of the Way of Love in its most exacting sense in Mathilda Wrede, Friend of Prisoners, who, in the dark days of revolution and civil war, mediated between "Reds" and "Whites" and stood unflinchingly for trust and brotherhood. She was present at the first gathering at Bilthoven and the Finland group dates from her return. Another in that group who has also passed to higher service was Charles Emil Boldt, whose attitude to the man who had killed his son in the days of the terror shines out as an example of forgiveness in peculiarly difficult circumstances.

At present the group is small, numbering chiefly teachers and social workers. Public opinion in Finland is against Russia, so work among the Russian exiles on the Finnish border came as a special call to the members. Pioneer work has also been done for disarmament and towards the repeal of laws bearing hardly on civilian service. Professor Felix Iversen is secretary.

THE BALTIC STATES

On the edge of the Baltic Sea are three States—Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania—to each of which independence and liberty has come within the last ten years.

In Esthonia and Latvia the history of the country has been, in the main, similar and the same situation is found to-day—fear

* On the *Peace Watch Tower*.

transferred from Czarist to Bolshevik Russia ; inter-racial, internal friction ; national, cultural revival ; eagerness for recognition by other nations ; a rising tide of militarism to counter the Bolshevik menace. In addition to compulsory military service there are volunteer military defence organisations to which even the women belong. There is great need for a positive ideal, such as that of the Fellowship message, to set over against negative, anti-militarist propaganda. The Baltic peoples are making tremendous efforts to build up anew their political, social and religious life. The chief task before the Fellowship in these lands is the breaking down of the barrier between the three racial elements—Ests and Letts ; Germans, largely dispossessed landowners ; and Russians, chiefly refugees.

Messengers of the International Fellowship visited Estonia and Latvia in 1925 and succeeding years, and in the autumn of 1928 the Swedish Movement—together with Professor Rahamägi, former Minister of Education, and his wife—arranged at Tartu a Conference for the Baltic States which was attended by over two hundred, mostly from Estonia. It left a deep impression, especially in church circles, and has paved the way for the foundation of an independent group of the Movement in Estonia. The group in Tartu carry on social work. A similar conference is being planned for next year to be held at Riga in order to introduce the ideas of the Fellowship into Latvia, where at present workers for peace are few in number. In Lithuania no group exists as yet. The building up of our Movement in these regions is important, for a strong movement in the Baltic States cannot fail to have its effect on Russia also.

RUSSIA

As far back as 1903 there were men in Russia ready to undergo any penalty rather than take part in war. Various religious sects suffered persecution and exile for their convictions. The Soviet Government, however, is as much opposed to pacifism as was the Czarist Government, and there are believed to be at the present time about one hundred and fifty conscientious objectors in prison.

The Tolstoyan group—of which the Russian members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are a section—is known as the “Moscow Vegetarian Society” ; its members are found not only in Moscow but scattered all over Russia in villages and rural districts. Many have refused military service and have suffered for their convictions. During the twenty years of its existence the Society has frequently organised aid for victims of war and famine. In 1911 it raised a special Famine Fund and organised

vegetarian dining-rooms in the famine district of Samarskaja Goubernia, where thousands of dinners were supplied to the local population. In 1912, similar help was given in the Ural district. During the Great War it founded a Home for Refugees in Moscow. The members went to the railway station and took to the Home any refugees who did not know where to go, fed and clothed them, and kept them for some days till the Government had found work for them. This refugee work was dangerous as, at that time, typhus and cholera were virulent. In 1921 a Children's Colony was started on V. G. Tchertkoff's estate near Jasnaja Poljana, for children orphaned by the war. Later, after the Revolution, a home for famine orphans was opened in Moscow. Other activities have been the promotion of agricultural colonies, co-operative farms, cheap dining-rooms for students and others, and the visiting of conscientious objectors in the prisons—or “Reform Houses,” as they are now called—taking food, clothes and money and helping them in other ways.

The Society has organised a library for its members and arranged social evenings and courses of practical work, lectures and discussions—chiefly on religion and philosophy. Lectures have been given about the anti-militarist movement. Several groups have been formed within the Society—Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters, and groups studying Esperanto and English.

In March, 1929, the Society was deprived of its premises at two weeks' notice. All the work except correspondence and the monthly Bulletin, has had to close down. Conditions in Russia for those who do not agree with the policy of the Government are very difficult and many of the members may be forced to emigrate. Books or circulars propagating non-violence or war resistance are liable to be confiscated, and Russian pacifists are shut out from participation in international congresses, as it is seldom possible for them to obtain a visa. In 1923 the General Secretary spent some weeks in Moscow.

CENTRAL EUROPE.

HOLLAND

Holland was the birth place of the International Fellowship. It was there that its first conferences and council meetings were held. At that time a group of friends worked in a Brotherhood at Bilthoven, experimenting in community life and carrying on

active pacifist propaganda. When later this Brotherhood dissolved, the members mostly joined kindred organisations and tried to live out and work out the message and call of the Movement. To-day they are putting their strength into the Youth Movement for Peace and into a new religious peace movement, *Kerk en Vrede*.* This latter has largely taken the place of the earlier Brotherhood as an instrument for religious pacifist action though radical pacifism has hardly penetrated to all its members. Twice a year a reunion of the Brotherhood is held at Bilthoven, and some two hundred are in contact with this inner group. The Dutch Movement has not lost its original vigour. Anton Hoytink and Th. Hugenholtz have been active in it from the beginning.

BELGIUM

Two races live in Belgium, the Latin Walloon and the Germanic Flemish. The majority of the Flemings are Roman Catholics and the majority of the Walloons are Socialists. Flemings and Walloons have not much in common, but the greatest antagonism in Belgium is between the Flemings conscious of their race and the Flemings who do not even care to speak Flemish. The Ex-Service Men's Union has built up an organisation of 100,000 who are out against war, though probably only a minority would take a personal stand. In 1924 a group in touch with the Fellowship was started at Antwerp and an impulse given by the meeting of Frenchmen, Germans, and Belgians at Boitsfort later in the year. The work in Belgium, however, is not yet on a strong basis.

FRANCE

It is difficult to speak of a Reconciliation Movement in France for, up till now, there has been no "Movement" proper but only a number of men and women who, haunted by the misery of the modern world and the need for bringing to it some relief, formed a spiritual community without other links than personal correspondence and a monthly journal. But just here are beginnings full of hope. In 1923, meetings addressed by Oliver Dryer aroused great interest, and a group, of widely divergent philosophic and religious views, came into being. Certain theological students, having left Paris, founded similar groups in other towns—Strassbourg, Colmar, Lille, Montpellier—each with its special character. Links were formed with German friends through the local conferences and tours already referred to. In 1925 a fortnight's walking tour, for instance, brought to some thirty

* Church and Peace.

German and French students the intimacy of life in common. Frenchmen shared in international conferences and members of the Fellowship visited France from other lands. Tentative steps were taken to bring about a French movement, but not till 1928 did Henri Roser become its first General Secretary, combining with this post Settlement work among workers in a Paris suburb. Emile Fabre, who worked as a pastor in an industrial centre for some years, and served later on the Central Secretariat, gives able assistance to the French work. A good local conference was held last September at St. Jean du Gard. Some tours have been made and others are in view. It is hoped that the next General Conference to be held at Lyons in August, 1929, will make the Movement more widely known throughout the country.

The preaching of the message of reconciliation in France comes right up against laws repressing anti-militarist propaganda. To take a stand as a conscientious objector is to commit an illegal act and to expose oneself to grave legal penalties, while public opinion is not yet ready to demand the revision of the law in a sense more favourable to liberty of conscience. The mentality of the people and their education for centuries has accustomed them to look for Truth not so much in the inspiration of conscience as in the teaching of Church or State, interpreters of the collective mind. This has had its effect on individual refusal of military service. The ideas of *La Reconciliation* are nevertheless gaining ground, and its leaders are now looked upon rather as "prophets" than as "traitors." The work in France must develop on the basis of positive, constructive action, clearly demonstrating the pacifist's will to serve, and his attitude not of anarchy but of solidarity. Thirty-one French volunteers worked at Lichtenstein. Voluntary Civilian Service would seem to be, perhaps, the most fitting expression of the future for the French Movement. The monthly bulletin, *Cahiers de la Reconciliation*, has proved a bond between scattered members. Its circulation is increasing.

GERMANY

The German Movement, *Deutscher Versöhnungsbund*, came into being soon after the first Bilthoven conference in 1919. Siegmund-Schultze, who was present there, and has continued in close touch with the Fellowship and its Council, helped to organise the tours when leaders of the Fellowship from other lands travelled through German towns, and various circles became familiar with the Movement and its work. Succeeding international conferences and a series of national conferences such as those at Beneckenstein in 1921 and Wilhelmshagen in 1923, brought wider publicity.

The German Monthly News Sheet, *Nachrichtenblatt des Versöhnungsbundes*, serves as a link between members.

Arising at a time when the whole country was in revolt against the over-organisation of a previous age the Movement in Germany expressed itself at first largely through experiments—agricultural settlements and little communities practising the simple life but linked always to some practical aim such as the care of neglected city children. Owing to the rebound from organisation, as well as to the vast distances, the Movement in Germany has not yet become really nation-wide, and its members have worked as individuals rather than as part of a whole. Finding a welcome at first chiefly in idealist and Quaker circles, it has spread to the workers, and a Settlement in East Berlin is one of its most live centres. It includes also a number of teachers and pastors and has members in the ranks of the Youth Movement, both Catholic and Protestant. It is not looked upon by the political peace movements as a rival but rather as the rallying point of religious peace work, uniting those who desire a deeper foundation. To-day, Germany is nearer to international than to industrial peace, and it is in this latter direction that the struggle will probably be keenest. Tradition, glorification of war and maintenance of privilege keep many in the old ideas. Nevertheless, pacifist idealism is growing among youth, even among nationalist youth. The old militarism is on the wane. In all youth circles there is searching of heart on the question of violence and a keen interest in the youth of other lands. Among pastors the discussion of peace and war is more open and frank than formerly. The Anti-Militarist Union of Pastors numbers over two hundred, and the tour of the General Secretary among pastors in Baden and Wurtemberg, in 1927, gathered groups for serious and thoughtful discussion. The German Movement is still small, numbering only some hundreds. Several friends in succession have given devoted part-time service, but with the appointment of a full-time secretary steady growth is anticipated. Both Protestant and Catholic circles are reached. It is proposed to work through sectional groups in the different areas as well as from the centre in Berlin.

A great task lies before the German Movement, a task upon which it has scarcely entered. To meet it worthily will make great demands both on the leaders and on the ordinary member.

AUSTRIA

In Austria religion and politics are inextricably mingled and predominant interests are political rather than religious. The years of economic distress have resulted not only in a lower standard

of living but in a spirit of class-hatred, though Austrians are by temperament peaceful.

The Fellowship was started there in 1920. There are some hundred and fifty members, mostly poor—teachers, social and relief workers. Much of the work is personal but a good deal of propaganda work through public meetings in towns and lecturing tours throughout the country is being undertaken. There is a library of nearly a thousand books. A special feature is the work among children. There is a Children's Library and a monthly leaflet, *Das Meer*. A contingent of 41 went from Austria to help in Lichtenstein. There are beginnings in some other towns besides Vienna. A keen group at Waidhofen a/d Ybbs centres round a Youth Movement Settlement. A separate group, founded by and maintaining touch with a member of the British Fellowship, exists in Innsbruck. The work in Vienna owes much to Beatrice Hoysted, for the past nine years secretary of the Fellowship in Austria. Oskar Bock and Grete Löhr have also served on the International Council.

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland was among the countries represented at Bilthoven in 1919, and for some months Pierre Ceresole worked with Cornelis Boeke at the Central Secretariat. There are, however, in Switzerland no branches of the International Fellowship, but there are groups with the same ideals and the same programme; in German Switzerland, Leonhard Ragaz, who, for nearly twenty years, has stood for radical pacifism and social renewal—and the friends who have gathered round his periodical, *Neue Wege*; in French Switzerland, the Christian Socialists. Many conscientious objectors have come from these groups or have been drawn into them later. In 1924, a Swiss Centre for Peace Action was founded with headquarters at Zürich. It carries on active work by speaking and publication, gives its support to conscientious objectors, and has initiated a popular appeal for disarmament. When, in 1924, a petition for the establishment of civilian service, signed by forty thousand persons, was turned down by Parliament, Swiss pacifists organised voluntary civilian service in four successive campaigns, demonstrating thus in a practical way how constructive service for one's country could replace military service. Recently a similar movement of a more extended character has been carried on in Lichtenstein, a Principality bordering on Switzerland. These efforts win many friends for the pacifist cause. Eighty pastors are united in an active Anti-Militarist Union. *Neue Wege*, *Aufbau*, *Nie Wieder Krieg* and *La Revolution Pacifique* are the organs

of radical pacifism. The International Youth Camp at Vaumarcus, in 1927, drew attention to the Fellowship and won understanding and sympathy in Switzerland for its work. Leonhard Ragaz and Pierre Ceresole have served on the International Council.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia has a pacifist heritage. Its greatest thinkers in former centuries, Chelcicky and Comenius, stood for world peace and brotherhood and, in the fifteenth century, George of Podibrad, King of Bohemia, tried to organise a Peace League among Christian-princes with a view to prohibiting the use of weapons and settling conflicts by a Court of Arbitration. After the war a number of Peace Societies sprang up or were revived. Peace was not in itself popular, for war had brought freedom, but those who had experienced its horrors desired to prevent another war. All the peace groups united recently in proposing to Parliament the acceptance of a civilian service law, but without success. Conscientious objectors, of whom there are many, mostly from religious reasons, suffer fairly severe penalties. The Fellowship here arose out of the Sonntagberg conference of 1922. Its work is mainly directed to promoting reconciliation between the Czech and German elements. Holiday exchanges between Czech and German children to the number of 1,278 were arranged during 1928, thus bringing the Fellowship into contact with some two thousand families. The main inducement was desire to learn the other's language, but the work had great moral results. Language discussions, affording opportunities of speaking on pacifist problems, are also undertaken and social evenings and lectures arranged. Considerable efforts are made to bring the facts about conscientious objectors before the public and to help their dependents. Help was also given at Lichtenstein: 45 gave their service. A stand has been taken against anti-semitism. Work among children has been carried on. An Easter conference was held last year for the first time. A number of friends of the Fellowship have suffered for their refusal of military service. Heinrich Tutsch and Premysl Pitter have been the leaders in the work in Prague.

IN ANGLO-SAXON COUNTRIES.

GREAT BRITAIN

The rise and growth of the Movement in Great Britain have been recorded in the first chapter, and the work undertaken there after the war has also been described. With the passing of the

sense of crisis associated with the war, the abolition of conscription, and the release from the strain of more than four years, direct peace effort tended somewhat to slacken. While the iniquity and menace of the peace treaties was widely recognised, hope was cherished in the League of Nations in spite of the sanction clauses. Doors to service in church and social spheres, long closed to the unpopular pacifist, were gradually reopened. The immediate reason for maintaining branches was felt to have passed; a period of "dispersion" began; the Church increasingly claimed leading members; and the witness of the Fellowship tended to become less corporate and more individual. Some of those who had been in prison turned to prison reform and to the problems of the delinquent. Others felt drawn to help in remoulding education in the spirit of Christianity and fellowship. Experiments like Riverside Colony, on the one hand, and institutions like Children's House in East London and the international "Fellowship School" at Gland, Switzerland, with its training in service and freedom, on the other, were the outcome. The hospitality work begun for Austrian children was continued for the children of miners and others in distress at home. Much of the missionary and conference work that developed the International Fellowship was due to the personal service of members of the British Fellowship. The extent of its quiet penetration can only be estimated from an intimate knowledge of what its ordinary members are doing for society in their individual capacity. Many are active in other movements, bringing sometimes a new note of venture into more cautious groups. But a core of those who recognise the value of its continuance as a body, seeing that the fight against war must be won in time of peace and won in the realm of the spirit, are concerned to maintain its corporate life and to make its influence felt, both within the Church as a pioneering group, and outside as a body endeavouring to translate Christian principles into everyday living. By campaign and conference, public meeting and discussion group, interchange of experience and practical experiment, and by the printed page it seeks to relate the pacifist message to the problems of personal and industrial strife, of poverty, unemployment and oppression, and to crises in industrial and international affairs. The Fellowship in Great Britain numbers some 3,500 members in active association and about 1,000 associates. Its organ, *Reconciliation*, appears monthly. Two secretaries share the work of travelling and organisation. It contributes about one-fourth of its income to the International Fellowship. Percy Bartlett and Lilian Stevenson are its present representatives on the International Council and Roger Soltau, Chairman of Executive.

BRITISH DOMINIONS.

Very little has as yet been attempted among colonial settlers, yet it is of the utmost importance that those who are moulding a new country and are confronted in that task by acute inter-racial problems should, from the outset, build foundations of mutual understanding and friendship, particularly in the field of education.

In SOUTH AFRICA links were maintained for some years with individuals but no actual group exists. Among missionaries in the interior, however, the Fellowship can claim members.

CANADA is only very slowly recovering from war fever and meantime her hands are so full with her own pressing internal problems that it is difficult to get attention for positive peace propaganda. There are, as yet, no Fellowship groups and the opinion of friends of the Movement there is that much personal work will have to be done before any fruitful public demonstration could be made.

Early in the history of the Movement a group was formed at Auckland, NEW ZEALAND, visiting prisoners and keeping in touch with European needs through the International Fellowship. It consisted largely of former conscientious objectors. Militarism is strongly entrenched in New Zealand, manifesting itself especially in a desire for naval expansion to keep trade routes open. The compulsory clauses of the Defence Act remain unrepealed. Recently five or six theological students were prosecuted as conscientious objectors. These cases attracted public attention and most of the Church Councils passed resolutions against compulsory military training and demanding exemption on grounds of conscience. The peace idea is slowly gaining ground, especially among the youth of the country and many teachers are alive to the situation and are working in the schools for a better spirit. War as a method of settling international affairs is being questioned and a considerable moderation of opinion has come about during the past two years. A small number of people do a great deal to inform public opinion and to popularise the League of Nations.

In AUSTRALIA conditions are somewhat similar but no group of the Fellowship as yet exists.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The first Fellowship group in the United States was organised in 1915 at a conference at Garden City, Long Island, to which Henry Hodgkin brought the story of the Fellowship's beginning. Edward Evans was the first secretary and was later joined by Norman Thomas, whose active service continued through the war.

When the United States entered the war the principal work of the group was in defending conscientious objectors and opposing war propaganda. The National Civil Liberties Bureau and the monthly magazine, *The World To-morrow*, were started in this period and largely directed and supported by members of the Fellowship. From the first also, members were concerned about the prevailing injustice of industrial, property and race relations. In general the procedure has been to stimulate individuals and groups towards adventuring with the principle of love and expressing it wherever possible through existing organisations or by the formation of new ones specifically directed to certain ends. Thus, Fellowship members have brought into being the National Council for Prevention of War, Brookwood Labour College, Reconciliation Tours, the Committee on Militarism in Education, and Inter-Racial Councils. In reaching out to challenge the lives of those to whom it makes its appeal the Fellowship has centred its attention largely upon students, teachers and ministers and now includes considerable groups of each. Through conferences, and even more in attending conferences planned by others, the meaning and importance of the pacifist way of life is presented. Much literature is also distributed. More effort has gone into spreading the idea than in trying to organise its expression. As a result, while the members are found all over the country and are a leavening influence, the actual local groups have developed but little corporate work. Certain groups, however, e.g. Americans and Japanese, White and Coloured, Christians and Jews, meet together and contribute to the betterment of racial relationships.

In 1926 two members went to the Philippine Islands as ambassadors of the Fellowship. In 1927 to 1928, during the occupation of Nicaragua by United States Marines, a Mission of Friendship to Central America was sent jointly by the Fellowship and the Quakers. This mission is being followed up by the appointment of a field secretary for Latin America who, in the autumn of 1929, will begin to live and work in Central and South American countries, endeavouring to link together men of goodwill who are out of touch with each other and with men of like purpose in other parts of the world.

The present membership is over 6,100, of whom about 1,300 are enrolled in the Youth Section. Among the 800 new members who joined during 1927, 440 were ministers. In 1928 union was effected with the "Fellowship for a Christian Social Order." The last named group was originally not pacifist, but in recent years so many of its members came to hold the pacifist position that union on that basis became possible. An associate membership was organised for those individuals who do not take the

pacifist stand. There are about 450 associates. Four full-time secretaries are employed and much of their time is spent in the field. People generally are more ready than formerly for a straight peace message, but the rapid expansion of American financial power resting upon autocratic industrialism is a menace to both international and industrial peace. The American Fellowship contributes about a quarter of its budget annually to the International Fellowship. Among those who have shared in its conferences and served on its council are Bishop Paul Jones, Nevin Sayre, and Horace Fort.

IN EASTERN LANDS.

CHINA

"China is the country which has more right than any other to have a pacifist movement and to give a pacifist message to the world."

"If the best minds of China begin to concentrate on preparations for war the character of the nation will eventually be changed."

Henry T. Hodgkin.

For the past four years the eyes of all the world have been on China, a China at war not at peace. Behind this outward strife is a nation passing through all the throes of renaissance. It is not without significance that it was in her days of comparative peace that the Fellowship was made known there through Henry Hodgkin's tours, on his return to China in 1920 after ten years' absence, as well as through the activity of members who had joined in other countries. By October, 1921, there were five groups. A conference in May, 1922, gathered some forty delegates from different parts of China, including British and American, German and Japanese, as well as Chinese. Although at the start the foreign element was greater than the Chinese, it was recognised from the first that it must eventually be a really Chinese movement and not only a Society among foreigners resident in China, however useful and welcome as fellow-members. The name *Wei Ai She*—“Love Only Group”—was adopted at that conference, the choice of name and the framing of the Statement there drawn up being entrusted to the Chinese members.

Group activity has continued, with interruptions due to recent national events, in six or seven centres, but there are many members who have no group connection. The Anking branch is largely Chinese and has prepared and published literature on the Movement, explaining its principles. The Chinese members in Shanghai are endeavouring to get information on international affairs into the local Press and religious papers. In Peking discussions have been held by the Chinese and foreign sections

sometimes apart for language reasons and sometimes together. The resolutions resulting were published and set people thinking. Other branches have been at Chengtu and Nanking; at the summer resort of Kuling and an informal group at Canton.

The missionary members of the Chinese Fellowship have taken a firm stand on the question of extra-territorial rights, expressing their desire to be exempt from protection at the conference at Kuling, in 1924, and again in a Statement adopted in January, 1925, by the English-speaking branch of the Peking group. The essence of this Statement is the conviction that it is only as foreigners come to receive as well as to give that the problem of the foreigner in China will be solved. In many cases it has been found that, where those in charge have shown no fear but welcomed the invading brigand or soldier as a host would a guest, the response has been remarkable. It has not however always been so. The way of trust is sometimes a costly way, but in the end it is on mutual trust alone that China will be rebuilt.

The Chinese Fellowship at present numbers one hundred and fifty members, of whom considerably more than half are foreigners. A close link has been maintained between China and the International Centre through Henry Hodgkin, till recently secretary of the National Christian Council of China. The first Chinese to attend an international conference was Gideon Chen at Oberammergau in 1926. But K. L. Pao, since then chairman of the Chinese Movement and at that time studying in England, was to have attended the 1920 conference at Bilthoven, and the paper on "Supranational Christian Fellowship," read to the conference in his absence, made a deep impression. In January, 1929, a second national conference was held in Nanking when the relation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation to Chinese conditions was fully discussed. A National Committee was formed with an Organising Secretary at Nanking, a Study Secretary at Shanghai and a Literature Secretary at Anking. Of the five members, three are Chinese.

JAPAN

A few words, by way of introduction, on Japan's attitude to social reform and international peace. For three centuries the Japanese people and Government counted Christianity as their greatest enemy. Consequently, the early Christian leaders of the modern period, in trying to show that Christianity was not an enemy of the State, seem to have refrained from any activities that would appear contrary to the policy of the Government. To-day things are very different and Japanese Christians take a leading part in progressive social reform. In

this connection may be mentioned Toyohiko Kagawa, the well-known Christian evangelist, slum worker and labour leader, who is working out the spirit of fellowship in relation to the rapidly developing labour organisations, and who is also a strong internationalist. Also the group associated with the Settlement work carried on by Caroline Macdonald, known throughout Japan for her work for prisoners and her fearless stand for social liberty. In Buddhism there is the ideal of peace but little activity in promoting it. A religious movement, "Ittoen"—Society of Pure Light—led by Tenko Nishida, has five thousand members and aims at a spiritual reorganisation of religion on a "Franciscan" basis.

There are a number of peace societies in Japan. Recently there have been efforts towards co-operation, such as the formation of the Association for the Investigation of Pacific Ocean Problems; the Union for Limitation of Armaments; and the Association for the Protection of Education, *i.e.*, from the danger arising from the large expenditure for military purposes. The League of Nations Union is active in Japan, and the late Associate General Secretary of the League of Nations, Mr. Nitobe, is a warm friend of Peace. While it is difficult to lead Japan to a hatred of war in itself it is possible to do much to present the spirit of the other nations as friendly and so make war impossible. The country people believe that war between Japan and America is inevitable, but the city folk and the leaders of the labour movement are against this idea and, on the whole, against militarism.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation was at first a Union of foreign residents with occasional Japanese speakers. In March, 1926, at a Retreat at Kamakura, when, of the 21 present, 12 were Japanese, this was entirely altered. At Tokio, in May, 1926, when 40 of the 70 members were present, a Japanese Statement was drawn up and the name *Yuwa Kai*, Society for Reconciliation, given to the Movement. Public meetings have been organised, retreats and conferences held, literature circulated, social problems studied and social work done. It has also been a concern of the Fellowship to spread peace ideals in education. To-day there is a membership of 80 to 90, Japanese and foreign.

INDIA

The Indian people to-day have no direct say in international peace, for all foreign relations are left to the British Government. Internally, peace and order are maintained by the same power and it is impossible to say whether outward peace between the many nations and religious communities which make up India would be maintained or not if that control were removed. Of the nature

of inward peace, however, India has much to teach the West. To Mr. Gandhi, Western pacifists look with deep respect and admiration. The Way of Patient Love has been abundantly demonstrated in his personality and in his writings and the West owes much to the depth and sincerity of that witness. Members of the Fellowship from the West have come into close touch with him, stayed at his *ashram*, and felt and longed to reproduce the peace and beauty of the life there. An Indian member of the Fellowship is now working with Dr. Tagore, another great force for peace.

In many ways India seems ripe for a movement like the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It is true that, so far, most of those who belong to it have been recruited in Western lands and, owing to immense distances, it has hitherto been impossible for them to meet. Many missionaries are in full agreement, but there is no organised Movement. Still, among its Western members the Fellowship can count men whom India trusts—C. F. Andrews, John Hoyland, Stanley Jones and others. But Christianity has become so associated with war and industrialism that it is difficult to teach doctrines of reconciliation, goodwill and brotherly love in the face of their disavowal by Christendom, however much individuals may dissociate themselves from an influence which outweighs the appeal of Christ's teaching in the big questions of national, commercial and industrial peace. "Peace" is not the impression which modern India has of Western Christianity.

Perhaps closest to the ideals of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are the International Fellowships which, in the last five years, have arisen at several centres, where those of different race and faith—Hindu and Moslem, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, ruling and ruled—meet together from time to time for mutual understanding and fellowship. In October, 1926, a Federation was formed of the seven or eight local groups. The International Fellowship is stated to consist of "persons who, both individually and collectively, desire that the reign of God shall be established in all relations of life, both in individuals and between groups of men, whether the problems be called social, economic, industrial, commercial, communal, national, international or racial It refuses to regard the present world-order as satisfactory or inevitable, and is convinced that Love, the supreme power where God's reign is accepted, is the great force that can produce the necessary changes." The purpose of the Federation is "To unite all local International Fellowships which aim at promoting goodwill and harmony amongst people divided by racial, communal, religious and other differences." It stands for "the truth at the root of all life that Love is supreme, and that there are values, eternal and universal, over-riding all racial and political differences

—even the barriers raised by religious institutions—and linking the members of the human race into a single family, subserving and fostering fulness of life” Some of these friends seem very near to us. Gandhi has a place on the Council and sometimes the Fellowship has met in his *ashram*. A Moslem member writes : “ May we not hope that the time is at last ripe for us to change our standard of values, to depose and destroy our idols—money, strife and competition—and substitute for them God, love, pity, comradeship ? We may then hope to live at peace, not only with the surrounding nations, but among ourselves as well.”

We hope to keep in close touch with this movement so near in sympathy to Christian pacifist ideals.

Chapter XII

AREAS OF RECURRENT STRIFE

THERE are some fortresses held to be impregnable. If the message of the Fellowship—*Amor Omnia Vincit*—be true, then it is true always and everywhere; every stronghold must in the end yield to that power. One such impregnable fortress is at the centre of the Armenian Question, namely: “Can Moslems and Armenians live together in peace? Is there any way out except the complete separation of the two?” A flourishing group of village colonies near the Euphrates seems to point to one answer. True, the gap between Armenian and Bedouin is not so wide as between Armenian and Turk. A beginning has, however, been made. The International Fellowship of Reconciliation is closely bound up with this Armenian enterprise, the Swedish Movement being largely responsible for its inception and support.

AN ARMENIAN COLONY AMONG MOSLEMS

The group of colonies was founded by Karen Jeppe, a Danish missionary, Commissioner also of the League of Nations, who had long been at work rescuing Armenian boys and girls from virtual slavery in Turkish homes. In 1924, inspired by her, some refugee pioneers started their colony, moving out from Aleppo to their new home. At the invitation of a friendly sheik, Hadjim Pasha—who has since died—they settled on his land and mixed freely with their Moslem neighbours. First, they built their huts of sun-dried bricks made by themselves; then a motor plough was purchased and the land brought under intensive cultivation and a great dam built. Now there is quite a compact group of colonies in being, or in course of formation, with some fifty families in each. The pioneer work has been in capable hands; the pressing need to-day is for spiritual leadership—preferably a European doctor who would serve Moslem and Armenian alike and help them to a deeper understanding of each other. The Armenian colonists can provide a teacher for the children and they are regularly visited by an itinerant priest.

Dr. Beskow, leader of the Swedish Movement, thus describes a recent visit:

“Round these colonies lies the open steppe with its peace and pure air; round the refugees in Aleppo lies the great town, unhealthy and restless. Here is work, as much as



FINLAND AND RUSSIA

MATHILDA WREDE, "FRIEND OF PRISONERS," AT THE
RUSSIAN MONASTERY, VALAMO



EIGHT ARMENIAN WEDDING COUPLES IN FRONT OF THEIR NEW HOMES



FÊTE D'AMITIÉ

A REPRESENTATION GIVEN BY THE FELLOWSHIP SCHOOL, GLAND, SWITZERLAND,
ON A VISIT TO THE FRENCH TOWN OF ARLES, 1926

any can desire, and work gives food and clothing. There is greater risk in remaining in the camp than in coming out here into the wilderness It was good to go round the cultivated fields and see the work done, to enter the little homes, to meet the trusting, open-hearted look of these people, to talk with them of the future and about the children's education. The very origin of these villages is due to co-operation between Moslem and Christian, Bedouin and Armenian. Both go to the 'White House' for help and counsel. It is here that disputes are settled. Some time ago it witnessed a reconciliation between the sheik and his worst enemy But how is this work going to develop? Will other interests come to be represented which will pay small attention to the peaceful relations existing to-day or will it advance the work of brotherhood aimed at by the Fellowship of Reconciliation when it decided to make this matter its own?"

We are convinced that the Armenian problem cannot be solved by relief alone, nor by repatriation alone. In common work, in patient understanding and goodwill, lies the solution of all racial antipathies, however deep-seated. These colonists may grow up to be reconcilers of ancient antagonisms and pioneers of a brotherhood wide enough to include in one family oppressor and oppressed, Moslem and Christian.

THE STORM CENTRE—EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Another area where strategy, diplomacy and violence have alike failed is Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, including the territories between Germany and Austria on the West and Soviet Russia on the East, together with those States which have undergone a complete transformation through recent peace treaties. These lands are noted for recurrent strife and not without reason. All the European wars since 1871 have started in this volcanic zone. Alsace Lorraine is not the only storm centre; it has been said that no less than twelve "Alsace Lorraines" are to be found in Eastern Europe. The Poles call the Corridor their "Wind-pipe," while the Germans see in it a menacing "Dagger"—a significant difference! The problem of minorities, national and religious, is common to all the countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and the resultant political and religious situation is the same. Added to this, in the Balkans there is the handicap of centuries of existence under Turkish rule, with a stagnant civilisation and a stunted religious life. Economically, the mutual interdependence of industrial Central Europe and agricultural

South-Eastern Europe is essential; culturally, with their own civilisation not more than a century old, these Balkan lands need relations with other peoples, and each has its own peculiar difficulties.

Post-war POLAND is nearly as large as France with twenty-eight millions, of whom one-third do not consider themselves Poles. For a hundred and fifty years the history of Poland has quite disappeared from the history books of other nations, and the memory of long years of subjection and dismemberment is still fresh. HUNGARY has lost two-thirds of her territory and her life has been shaken to its foundations. ROUMANIA has to grapple with new frontiers which have more than doubled her population. Sixty-five per cent. of the people are illiterate. One in sixteen is a Jew and the Semitic question is a live issue. In JUGOSLAVIA the former majorities have become minorities, and a huge tract with wide diversities of speech and religion and with hitherto a dozen different forms of government has to be welded into one whole. BULGARIA has lost her seaboard on the Ægean and has ceded parts of Macedonian territory to Jugoslavia and Greece. But Bulgaria is a land full of hope. GREECE, while her area has not been affected by peace treaties, has to deal with the problem of a great influx of refugees from Asia Minor.

Here, in this tangle of problems—national, economic, cultural, religious—is the call to a deeply-penetrating and far-reaching work of reconciliation, and in this area seems to lie one of the most pressing tasks before the Fellowship.

PREPARATORY WORK IN THE BALKANS AND POLAND

As far back as 1920 proposals were before the International Fellowship that work should be undertaken in the Balkans. At that time there seemed a prospect of opening an outpost of reconciliation between Albania and Jugoslavia. From the beginning the Movement has had links with individuals and small groups, especially with Tolstoyans of varying standpoints. These relationships were extended through the international conferences. At Sonntagberg, in 1922, the Movement first came into direct contact with the difficult problems of the Balkans and other South-Eastern European lands. At that time the Council decided to begin systematic work in these countries and proposed founding a Centre for the work in Prague. The next step was the preparation of a South-Eastern European conference at Stramberg, in Moravia. In view of this, Premysl Pitter of Prague undertook a tour in the spring of 1924 through the most important South-Eastern European cities. The links thus made were strengthened

and added to by a longer tour made by the General Secretary later in the year through Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia, so that the Stramberg Conference in July gathered some thirty friends from six countries to consider fundamental questions such as "Nationalism and International Relations," "Christ and War," "The Jewish Question." This work was continued in the following year by a second tour of several months through Hungary, Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia. Valuable links were formed, and in several countries foundations were laid for small national groups. A conference at Gaming, in Lower Austria, in 1925, carried the work a stage further and endeavoured to deal particularly with the question of minorities, the Austrian Fellowship combining with the International Fellowship to bring about the conference. The problems of South-Eastern Europe were more thoroughly gone into at the international conference at Oberammergau, in 1926, and those present from the Balkans decided to form a Union of the scattered groups and individuals in Balkan lands in order to solve together their difficult practical problems. At present small groups exist in Sofia, Bucarest and Belgrade.

In Hungary no group has as yet been formed, but links have been maintained with the Hungarian branch of the Women's International League. In Poland a brief visit in 1925 brought to light the existence of certain groups working for truer human relationships, but considerable advance was made through a conference at Warsaw in 1927 between German and Polish Catholics. A further tour in the autumn of 1928 was undertaken by Kaspar Mayr and Herman Hoffmann, partly to investigate personally the national minorities and how to bring about a better understanding between these and the Poles, partly to get into touch with groups or individuals who might form the nucleus of a Polish group of our Movement. A further aim was the promoting of Polish-German understanding in Catholic circles by planning for a Polish-German-Catholic conference at Berlin to be held at Whitsuntide, 1929, and preparatory work, with the approval of Marc Sangnier, for the International Democratic Peace Congress to be held in Warsaw in the summer of 1931. A Youth Camp was also kept in view.

CENTRES OF RECONCILIATION NEEDED

One result of all this preparatory work was the conviction that the Movement had a great task in these countries, a task which could only be carried out by systematic work from some point close at hand. The aim should be the formation of centres of reconciliation in each Balkan land, centres linked to one another

and to a common centre. Such a Centre, with personnel specially devoted to this work, had long been desired and, in July, 1927, the Council decided to set up a Centre in Vienna as soon as possible, its task being mainly to form national groups where none as yet existed ; to train leaders ; to bring members of the different nationalities into touch with one another ; and to try to carry on work of personal mediation in specially difficult spheres. Any ultimate Balkan political federation and any possibility of friendly relations between the various Balkan nations depends largely upon the forming of religious and cultural ties. Conferences between teachers, professors, doctors and priests from the different lands have frequently been proposed by Balkan nationals themselves.

Thanks to the help of American friends this hope seems nearer realisation and with the transference of the headquarters of the Movement from London to Vienna a new chapter begins in the history of the Movement. The interest of all friends of reconciliation is earnestly solicited, for this field is no easy soil to work. But we believe that here and there in these lands there are men and women who have seen a vision of peace and mutual service and are ready to give themselves whole-heartedly to its realisation. Some of them we have already come to know and value as fellow-workers. We do not think they stand quite alone in their ideals.

Chapter XIII

LOOKING BACKWARD—AND FORWARD

LOOKING back over the past ten years we ask ourselves—or others ask us: “Is there a place for this Fellowship among the many movements of to-day. What is there to show for its efforts? Does the message of Love as the basis of life really work?”

The older Peace Societies failed when the test came in 1914. Will our post-war pacifist conviction be strong enough to stand the strain of a new situation? That situation seems outwardly easier. Men point to the rise of the League of Nations and of League of Nations Unions and other political peace movements, to a growing interest in disarmament, and to the Kellogg Pact. “Pacifism, from being the badge of a contemned and slighted few is becoming the fixed resolve of a great multitude.” Yes, but in the very advance of general peace sentiments lies a subtle danger. It is so easy to think that it will all come right of itself. Individual efforts must not be relaxed. We have still in the background the grim spectre of War in all the added horror with which science, perverted to uses of destruction, has invested it. Meanwhile we have to rethink our pacifism in terms of the menace of class-war and of our share in the class-struggle, upward and onward, of all who are poor and oppressed. No longer can we isolate international war from other forms of strife and think of it alone as the “Peace Problem.”

No conviction that is not strong, passionate and tested will stand the strain. Let us examine again our affirmations: “Love is the only sufficient basis of human society In order to establish a world-order based on love it is incumbent on those who believe in this principle to accept it fully Our loyalty to our country, to humanity, to the Church Universal and to Jesus Christ calls us to a life-service for the enthronement of love in personal, social, commercial and national life.” So ran the original declaration of the founders of the Fellowship. The Chinese group voices the same conviction: “To make the love of Christ the standard of all life and activity.” A Danish leader writes: “Those that would build the world anew must try to have the mind of Jesus. Only an unconquerable will to love men and women, and to go on forgiving and loving them whatever their actions, and a firm resolution to serve them with all one’s powers

and possessions will bring about a new world." These are great affirmations. How are they to become convictions for ourselves and others?

Substitute, if you will, for "Love" the term "Friendship" or "Brotherhood"—it matters not so long as the reality remains; no sentimental feeling, but a virile and vital thing—mutual, reverent, sacrificial, the very antithesis of the spirit that governs world-politics to-day. And this is to be "enthroned," made dominant and prevailing. C. F. Andrews has shown how in the two New Testament passages which are the charter of the peacemaker—the Beatitudes and St. Paul's Hymn of Love—the gentler, submissive attitude comes first but soon passes into an active hungering and thirsting after righteousness and a virile rejoicing in truth, while the final note is one of endurance and sacrifice. Only by a passion for justice will love be enthroned in industrial and international life to-day.

THE FAMILY IDEAL, THE DISTINCTIVE NOTE OF THE FELLOWSHIP

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is only one among many complementary international movements for peace and brotherhood—the World Alliance for Promoting Friendship between the Churches, the World Student Christian Federation, the War Resisters' International, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Women's International League and others—each with its own characteristics and mission—and with all these it has much in common. Some are concerned with bringing about peace through influential leaders, political or religious; others concentrate chiefly on individual and mass war resistance; some are limited to a special field—women, students, church leaders: in each the degree of radical pacifism varies. What is perhaps most distinctive in the means of approach of this Fellowship is that it seeks to see all life in terms of family relationships. This lay at the root of its insistence on the breaking down of barriers during the war; it lies equally in its stressing of the personal note. Men are brothers—not in the vague and general sense of the universal Brotherhood of Man which, held as a doctrine merely, may be purely theoretic and leave one cold or else degenerate into easy good-fellowship—but with a far deeper content. It sees in the ideal of Jesus not a League or an Alliance but a Family; and membership in a family means being linked in the closest of known bonds with others who are weak, immature and fallible, yet with whom is shared a common heritage, a common life and a common hope—a hope which unites and makes one whole. So its method is essentially one of spiritual penetration, personal and constructive. Personal:

bringing its message to the ordinary man yet not content with viewing persons as isolated units but in relation to their group, church, nation, race, with all the complex possibilities such relationships involve. Constructive: in that it is a positive way of life rather than, or in addition to, a negative protest, however necessary. Its aim is not only to unite men and women of whatever race, nation, class or creed in one brotherhood in which war is abolished but to call them to venture on a more reconciling way of living. We have seen how it has tried to work this out in experiments in service—industrial, social and political. We turn now to more intimate relationships.

AT THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM

One may be considered “a good pacifist” in the political or industrial sphere—even if somewhat high-handed—but there is no more real testing-place than the home where theories of brotherhood in the large must be lived out in its intimate setting. This Movement needs very specially to be on its guard because, since one’s theory of the family method is accepted as the standard in other relationships, one is too apt to take right relations here for granted. In cultivating the “yes” attitude in minor things; in getting on with difficult and uncongenial people; in refusal to coerce; in the “living together in unity” which the psalmist found so pleasant yet which is not particularly easy for people of the pioneer type to achieve—battles are being faithfully waged and won on this field, and abundant personal testimony, too intimate for quotation, witnesses to the place the Fellowship has had in inspiring to a more faithful and loving way of life. One might instance the ventures made by teacher-members in many lands—often with marked results—to do without rewards and punishments and to substitute self-discipline and mutual service for outward rules. The particular problems of family life: the training of children—shared as a concern by both parents and teachers; relationships within the household or in the office; the place given to sex in modern life with its greater frankness on the one side and its moral laxity on the other—all these challenge our message both in its strength and its breadth. Perhaps, if all were right here, the rest would follow more rapidly. Unless we “harmonise our homes and unify our personalities,” we shall lack the power truly to reconcile nations or classes.

LOOKING FORWARD

It was with a deep sense of insufficiency but with a firm hope that we entered, with the move to Vienna, on another chapter in

this Movement's history. Very little has in truth as yet been accomplished of all we dreamed and hoped and planned, but enough to confirm our faith in that Way which opened up before us ten years ago ; experiments that broke down and left us humbled yet nearer to the goal for all their failure than if we had never climbed ; tasks too delicate and plans too far-reaching for our limited powers to compass. There is still very much to be followed up from small beginnings in Northern, Western and Central Europe, but a beginning has been made and the leaven is working which may slowly bring about changes from within. Across many a frontier men and women have come to know one another better because of "Bilthoven" and "Sonntagberg" ; "Nyborg" and "Bad-Boll" ; "Oberammergau" and "Vaumarcus" and "Sandwich."

And now our faces are set towards Eastern Europe, that tangle of problems and rights and wrongs, so hard to unravel. The task we have entered on there is no easy task : not to bring relief to starving bodies but to try to satisfy the heart-hunger of men for brotherhood and liberty, for a life of peace with men and with God. Dare we hope to be used to bring harmony into that chaos of grievances, to help towards the building up of a new brotherhood in the Balkans, to be allowed—together with our brothers and sisters in Eastern Europe—to kindle, at the centres of reconciliation which it is hoped to found, lights that shall be as signals of a coming dawn of peace in that eastern sky ?

Surely some great common hope is called for to-day and the power to bring its realisation nearer ! "Everywhere men have come to realise that the old order has failed. War, itself so terrible a denial of Christ's way of love and forgiveness, is seen to be but the crown of a system shot through and through with fear, oppression and violence. Religion, even when calling itself by the name of Christ, has been caught up into world-systems that seem to make its practice impossible." Yet what seems as yet impossible for States and Churches is possible for individuals and groups with faith and courage. This revolutionary change cannot be brought about by outward violence but only from within, by a deep change in the spirit of individuals, a change expressing itself in relations of brotherhood. Such a change of spirit demands sacrifice. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone." But, if costly, it is also fruitful. Things impossible in isolation can be achieved together. Wherever this Way has been really tried *it works*. To-day, as with Francis in Assisi, with William Penn in America, with Mathilda Wrede in Finland : to-day, in the power of the living Christ as when nineteen hundred years ago He walked this earth relying on no other weapon than love. Because, with all their consciousness of disloyalty and failure,

they are proving it true in experience those—anywhere and in any Society—who take this way can testify that trust and love are not mere passive habits of mind but creative forces.

There is no one way of action for all. Each has his own vision, his own capacity; together in fellowship the way will be found. If the inner history of the Movement could be written it would be but the record of the entry of many into a deeper understanding of the way of love and fellowship, of numberless quiet and little known attempts by individuals and by groups to cross by service the barriers that cut off men from men. The new world is being built up not only or chiefly of dramatic happenings or of experiments that can be tabulated but of true and loving hearts expressing themselves in deeds of love, that love discovering by practice a wider range and a fuller content.

We represent only one imperfect attempt among many movements of the Spirit, but we believe we have a clear call and a proved method. We need material support to help to make possible the work that could be done. We need mental, moral and spiritual strength and counsel. We need co-operation and offers of service —nay, we need something more personal and more sacred, men and women of faith and love, friends of God and friends of men. So we press on, asking you into whose hands this pamphlet may come to press on with us, confident that “the Power, Wisdom and Love of God reach far beyond the limits of our experience,” and that “He is ever waiting to break forth in human life in new and larger ways.”

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